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THE

EARLY RACES OF SCOTLAND

AND THEIR MONUMENTS

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THE

EARLY RACES OF SCOTLAND

AND THEIR MONUMENTS

BY

LIEUT.-COL. FORBES LESLIE

SILBURY HILL.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH: EDMONSTON AND DOUGLAS.
MDCCCLXVI

PREFACE.

In examining memorials of the races that occupied Caledonia from the earliest ages to the end of the sixth century of the Christian era, one purpose of the Author was, if possible, to discover the general design of the Caledonian hieroglyphics, as well as the special object, actual or emblematical, which each symbol was intended to represent. In this undertaking, from the absence of all positive data, success, even in the most limited degree, could only be hoped for by accumulating facts regarding the first inhabitants, the most ancient monuments and superstitions of Caledonia, and by comparing them with similar remains in other lands. In attempting to accomplish this design, primitive monuments in India, Brittany, England, Ireland, and Scotland have been examined. Yet, regarding subjects so obscure as those treated of in these pages, it is with extreme diffidence that the following suggestions as to the

separate symbols, and the general design of the Caledonian hieroglyphics and monuments, are submitted to the public. With more confidence it may be anticipated that the arguments employed, and the inferences drawn from them, cannot be refuted, and different explanations substituted, without advancing the objects aimed at in these essays—the elucidation of the ethnology, monuments, hieroglyphics, and heathenism of the ancient inhabitants of Caledonia, or that part of Britain which lies to the north of the Firths of Clyde and Forth.

The monuments reared and the objects worshipped in the days of heathenism in Ireland—even in Gaul and South Britain—were originally, there is reason to believe, not materially different from those of North Britain. But the hieroglyphics are confined to the latter country; and as it never fell under Roman or Anglo-Saxon dominion, and as there is no proof in that early period of any important intrusion on its Celtic population, the arguments regarding the races who reared or occupied its monuments, and adhered to its forms of paganism, are greatly simplified.

In different divisions of these volumes a few repetitions will be found. This arises from the same facts or observations being required in explanation of differ-

ent subjects treated of in separate chapters, and it is hoped that the arrangement will, without materially increasing the size of the work, be found more convenient to the reader than the alternative of numerous references.

I have now only to acknowledge the obligations I am under to Joseph Robertson, LL.D., for his help in the revision of these pages, as well as for much of that valuable information which he is alike able and ready to impart, and of which, in common with many others who have written regarding Scotland, I have gladly availed myself.

ROTHIENORMAN, *January* 1866.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

NOTICES OF BRITAIN AND ITS INHABITANTS IN ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN AUTHORS 1

CHAPTER II.

ETHNOLOGY OF CALEDONIA 15

CHAPTER III.

PHŒNICIANS—THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE BRITONS AND CALEDONIANS 47

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION OF THE EARLY INHABITANTS OF BRITAIN AND CALEDONIA 62

CHAPTER V.

SOLAR AND PLANETARY WORSHIP IN BRITAIN AND CALEDONIA 104

CHAPTER VI.

WORSHIP OF SPIRITS, ATMOSPHERIC AND TERRESTRIAL: ETHEREAL FIRE—SPIRIT OF THE WATERS: THE WATER KELPIE, ETC.—SPIRIT OF THE ELVES AND IMPS 140

CHAPTER VII.

PAGE
WORSHIP OF FOUNTAINS, LAKES, AND RIVERS . . 154

CHAPTER VIII.

PRIMITIVE STONE MONUMENTS AND THEIR ANTIQUITY . . 183

CHAPTER IX.

CROMLECHS—CIRCULAR COLUMNAR FANES . . . 207

CHAPTER X.

MENHIRS (COLUMNAR STONES)—DEVOTIONAL; MEMORIAL . 249

LIST OF PLATES.

VOLUME I.

Plate		
	View of Avebury	*Frontispiece.*
	Silbury Hill, Avebury—*Woodcut*	*Title-page.*
I.-V.	Hieroglyphics	*Page* 1
VI.	Figures from the Ruins of Carthage	47
VII.	Sacred Tree in Ceylon	174
VIII.	Comparative size of principal Stone Circles of Britain	183
IX.	Stone Avenues at Carnac	191
X.	Plans of Stonhenge and Sinhinny	207
XI.	Plan of the Hurlers	207
XII.	Botallick Circles, Cornwall	214
XIII.	View of Sinhinny	215
XIV.	View of Ardlair	216
XV.	Part of Circle in Churchyard of Midmar	220
XVI.	View on the Plain of Carnac	232
XVII.	General Plan of Avebury	234
XVIII.	Plan of the Great Circles at Avebury	234
XIX.	View of Stonehenge	240
XX.	View of Stonehenge restored	241
XXI.	Plan of Circle at Castle Rig, Cumberland	244
XXII.	View of Circle at Castle Rig, Cumberland	245
XXIII.	Plan of Monument at Callernish, Lewes	247
XXIV.	View of Great Menhir at Loc-Maria-Ker restored	249
XXV.	View of Great Menhir at Loc-Maria-Ker broken and prostrate	258

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

It is a remarkable fact that numerous hieroglyphics, graven on conspicuous monuments in many of the most fertile parts of Scotland, should only lately have attracted special notice. Many such monuments known to have existed are no longer to be found. Some have been destroyed, and accurate delineations[1] of the remaining "sculptured stones of Scotland" are only to be seen in folios published within the last twenty years—exclusively for two societies with a limited number of members—viz. "The Bannatyne" and "The Spalding" Clubs.[2]

The volume of the Spalding Club, edited by Mr. John Stuart, has been taken as the basis of the present work, in so far as it refers to the hieroglyphical figures on "the sculptured stones of Scotland."[3] The Roman numerals attached to each figure of the hieroglyphics or emblems give the means of reference to the plates and descriptions in *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, published by the Spalding Club.

[1] The notices and plates of a few of these sculptures, as given by Gordon, Cordiner, Pinkerton, etc., are not sufficiently accurate to be of much value.

[2] To the intelligence and liberality of the late Mr. Patrick Chalmers of Auldbar is owing the first of these works—viz. an elephant folio of plates and letterpress descriptive of the sculptured monuments of Forfarshire. This work was edited by Mr. Chalmers in 1846. The second of the works referred to was edited by Mr. John Stuart, for the Spalding Club, in 1856. It is in folio, and contains accurate plates of all the most ancient sculptured monuments of Scotland then known. Others, however, have since been discovered, which, but for these publications, would probably at no remote period have disappeared, or have remained neglected and unnoticed. These are now in course of publication in a second volume of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, and will, like the first volume, have the valuable addition of an introduction and notices of the plates by the same editor, Mr. John Stuart, now secretary to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries.

[3] The plates in the present work, mostly from drawings by the author, are executed by the same artist, Mr. Gibb, who had so accurately copied and delineated the sculptures for the work of the Spalding Club.

VOLUME I.

FRONTISPIECE. View of Avebury, from a drawing by the Author, made in 1856. For Plans of Avebury see Plates VIII. XVII. XVIII. and Index—"Avebury."

TITLE-PAGE. View of Silbury. The great artificial mount which forms part of the General Plan of Avebury. See Index—"Avebury" and "Silbury."

PLATES I. II. III. IV. and V. These five plates contain examples of the most remarkable figures that appear sculptured on rude stone monuments scattered over the eastern and northern districts of Scotland. With few and unimportant exceptions, monuments with these figures are confined to the country which was occupied by the Celtic tribes called Cruithne—the Picts of the classical authors and early Scottish history. On the eastern and northern lowlands of Scotland, from the Forth to the Orkney Islands, these sculptures are found, but in greatest numbers within the districts between the rivers Dee and Spey.

These figures are in this work considered as pagan symbols —for there is every reason to conclude that the most important of them originated and were in use before the introduction of a Christianity which tolerated many pagan devices. In a material form this fact appears in these sculptures where the heathen emblems are seen in combination with the cross. In some monuments the cross is on one side, and the emblems are on the other side of the stone; but more frequently the cross is surrounded, and in some cases surmounted, by heathen symbols.[1]

For the sake of brevity, the sculptures of which the cross forms an original part of the design are, in these descriptions, termed Christian, the others are called heathen; as also are the figures found on the opposite side of the stone from a cross. The sculptures where there are no crosses are generally graven

[1] As in Plates XLVII. and CVI. of *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Spalding Club.

on rude upright stones and boulders which show no signs of the mason's art except these sculptures.

Plate I. (III.) *The Double Disc.* This figure is most common on rude boulders or unhewn stones, but also appears in sculptures along with the cross.[1] See pp. 397-402.

(III.) *Double Disc and Sceptre.* This, the most common of the Caledonian hieroglyphics, is found in many sculptures,[2] both heathen and Christian. See Plates XLVIII. LII ; see also pp. 397-402.

(IV.) *The Crescent*[3] is found both in heathen and Christian monuments. See Plate L. and pp. 402-407.

(IV.) *The Crescent and Sceptre*[4] is nearly as common on the sculptured stones as the double disc and sceptre. See also Plate L. and pp. 402-407.

(CXXXVIII. and XVII.) *The Mirror or Mirror-Case* is very common on rude monuments, and also along with the cross.[5] It is difficult to distinguish between the mirror and the mirror-case. It would seem that their value was equal, and that as emblems they were indiscriminately employed.

(XCII. CXII. XVII. and CXXXVIII.) *The Comb and Comb-Case.*[6] The same remarks are applicable to these figures as to the mirror and mirror-case. The mirror or mirror-case, and the comb or comb-case, almost invariably appear together in the same sculpture. What is here termed a comb-case has been generally called a book. Although very similar, these figures can be distinguished from each other—the comb-case being generally found along with the mirror, whilst the book is always placed in the hands of ecclesiastics. See Plate LV. and pp. 430-432.

In one of the compartments of an elaborate sculpture (vol. i. Plate XXV. of the Spalding Club work) a hunting-scene is represented, on the uppermost corner of which the mirror and comb-case appear over and in front of the principal figure, as if they were emblems of his tutelary deity. The appearance of

[1] 7 heathen, 2 Christian
[2] 33 heathen, 1 Christian.
[3] 3 heathen, 1 Christian.
[4] 32 heathen, 5 Christian.
[5] 25 heathen, 6 Christian.
[6] 18 heathen, 2 Christian.

these emblems, where all the figures are men on horseback, is opposed to a common opinion—viz. that the mirror and comb-case were found only on female monuments. In a hunting-scene sculptured on another monument (Spalding Club, vol. i. Plate XLVI.) the double disc and sceptre appear in nearly the same relative position to the principal mounted figure as the mirror and comb in Plate XXV. This gives support to the suggestion that these emblems may represent the tutelary deity of the person over whom they are placed.

(XV. and XIII.) *The Fire-Altar.*[1] The figures here termed fire-altars are always in the sculptures placed upright. Those with, as well as those without the bird, are only found on heathen monuments, although in connection with the cross there appears a figure, sometimes called the balance, which is probably designed to represent the fire-altar. See Plate LIII. and pp. 402, 417-420.

(CII. and CIX.) *The Brooch*[2] is found both on Christian and on heathen monuments.

There are figures which, although nearly of the same form as the brooch, are yet without the lines that extend between the two external rings, and are more likely to be a variety of the mirror and mirror-case than of the brooch.

(CXIII.) *The Circular Figure on a Stand*[3] is most common on heathen monuments. See Plate V. and p. 420.

(CXXXVIII. and CVIII.) *The Horse-Shoe Arch,*[4] although a common emblem on heathen monuments, has not yet been found in any sculpture along with the cross. The arch is always represented upright. See also Plate LIV. and pp. 422-425.

(XXXIX. and CIX.) *The Elephant.*[5] This remarkable figure is of common occurrence both on heathen monuments and in sculptures along with the cross. In a cave at East Wemyss the elephant is seen sculptured on the rock in the same design with the goose. See also Plate LI. and pp. 415-417.

[1] 7 heathen, 2 Christian.
[2] 3 heathen, 1 Christian.
[3] 5 heathen, 1 Christian.
[4] 10 heathen.
[5] 18 heathen, 3 Christian.

(xv.) *The Hawk*[1] is found both on Christian and on heathen monuments. In Plate III. will be seen (cviii.) a figure which may either represent the hawk, less correctly and more elaborately executed, or some other kind of bird. See pp. 443, 444.

(xvii. and vi. of Plate I., and xxxii. and xxxvii. of Plate III.) *The Fish.*[2] The two figures in Plate I. seem mythological, and not intended to represent real fish. The fish, although common in the heathen, is rare in the Christian sculptures, in one of which, however (Spalding Club, vol. i. LXIX.), it appears preyed on by a bird. See Plate LIV. and pp. 425-430.

(cxii.) *The Sword in the Scabbard*[3] is found both on Christian and on heathen monuments, the end being always square. Pp. 444, 445.

Plate II. (cxxxviii.) *Human Figure with Dog's Head.*[4] This figure appears on a stone by itself; but on a Christian monument (Spalding Club, vol. i. CXVIII.) there are several indistinct figures of a similar form. Pp. 441, 442.

(lxxxiii.) *The Serpent*[5] is common both on heathen and on Christian sculptures. See also Plate LI. and pp. 402, 407-415.

(lxvii.) *The Serpent and Sceptre*[6] are more common on heathen, but are also found on Christian sculptures. See also Plate LI. and pp. 402, 407-415.

(xl. and xcii.) *The Flower or Plant*[7] is found both in Christian and in heathen sculptures. See also Plate LVI. and pp. 440, 441.

(cxxxiii. of Plate II. and lxxiii. of Plate IV.) *The Dog's Head.*[8] Since the body of this work was sent to press a figure exactly similar to that of cxxxiii. has been discovered cut in the rock of a cave at East Wemyss; and it is a fact of some importance that in this case the dog's head is in combination

[1] The hawk or a bird. 6 heathen, 1 Christian.
[2] 12 heathen, 1 Christian.
[3] 3 Christian, 1 heathen.
[4] 5 heathen, 1 Christian.
[5] 7 heathen, 2 Christian.
[6] 5 heathen, 2 Christian.
[7] 3 heathen, 3 Christian.
[8] 3 heathen.

with the double disc and sceptre. See also Plate LVI. and pp. 441, 442.

(XLI.) *The Triangle* is found only on one, a heathen sculptured stone, and even there is not well defined. LXXIII. may be an embellishment of the triangle. See p. 447.

(X.) *The Circle enclosing three Circles and three Triangles* is a single example, and appears on a heathen monument along with the crescent and sceptre. See also Plate XLVII. and p. 420.

(CXIV.) *The Horse.* Many horses appear on the sculptured stones, but this is the only one without a rider or trappings, and with the peculiar marks which this bears. This is the only figure on the stone. A horse without rider or special marks appears cut in the rock of a cave at East Wemyss. See also Plate LVI. and pp. 432-435.

(XXXVIII.) *The Boar.* This figure is cut on a rude boulder, on which faint remains of the double-disc emblem may be traced. The boar is found in sculptures along with the cross. See also Plate LVI. and p. 437.

(XXXVIII. and LXXVII.) *The Bull.* These are heathen sculptures, but cattle with the same peculiar marks as in XXXVIII. appear in Christian religious processions, as in CX. Plate IV. and in vol. i. Spalding Club, LXX., where the cattle are apparently intended for sacrifice. See Plate LVI. and pp. 435-437.

Plate III. (CVIII.) *The Bird* and (XXXII. and XXXVII.) *The Fish* are referred to above in Plate I.

(LXXIV. and LXXXIV.) *The Centaur.* There are two sculptures in which the centaur appears bearing the bough of a tree. There are three sculptures in which the centaur is found. See also Plate LVI. and pp. 442, 443.

(XLIII.) *Bird's Head on Human Figure.* These monsters are in a Christian sculpture. See also Plate LVI. and p. 438.

(XIV. XL. and LXXIII.) *The Hippocampus.* These figures are in Christian sculptures. See also Plate LVI. and p. 439.

(LXXVII.) *Peculiar form of Fish.* A single example.

(LXXVII. and XIV.) *Serpents.* The two serpents—a single example—and no other figure on the same stone. The other is on a monument partly Christian. See pp. 402, 407-415.

Plate IV. (LXXIII.) *Dog's Head.* Referred to in Plate II.

(LXXIII.) *The Camel.* Appears on monuments of the Christian period.

(XC.) *Cattle.* Referred to in Plate II.

(Vol. ii. Spalding Club, VI.) *Bird swallowing Serpent.*

(XC.) *Tree on a Platform or in a Flower-Pot?* Resembles plant in a sculpture at Carthage. See Plate VI.

(XXXII.) *Plant or Flower.* Referred to in Plate II.

(CXXXI. and XCVI.) Are figures on heathen monuments.

Plate V. (XV. and CXIII.) *Circular Figures on a Stand.* Always placed upright. Referred to in Plate I. and p. 420.

(CXI.) *The Double Crescent* is found both in Christian and heathen sculptures.

(Letter A.) *The Goose* appears sculptured on a rock in a cave at East Wemyss, combined in the same design with the elephant. See also Plate LVI. and pp. 86-90.

(CXXXII.) *Sea-Monster,* is in a heathen sculpture.

(XXIX. and XXXII.) *The Harp* is in Christian sculptures. See also Plate LVI. and p. 448.

Plate VI. Figures from the ruins of Carthage, showing emblems somewhat similar to those on the sculptured stones of Scotland. From Dr. Davies' *Researches in Carthage.* See p. 47.

Plate VII. The Sacred Tree at Anurádhapoora in Ceylon. From a drawing made by the Author in 1827. See p. 174.

Plate VIII. Comparative size of the principal stone circles in Britain. This diagram is on too limited a scale to show the most remarkable distinctions of Avebury—viz. its miles of approaches, marked by huge monoliths, and an artificial mount that covers five acres of ground. See p. 183.

Plate IX. Stone Avenues of Carnac in Brittany. From a drawing made by the Author in 1857. The view is looking along three outer lines of the rude columns, of which there are eleven lines forming ten avenues. See also Plate XVI. p. 191.

Plate X. Plans of the circles of Stonehenge in Wiltshire, and Sinhinny in Aberdeenshire. See Plates XIII. XIX. XX. p. 207.

Plate XI. Plan of the Hurlers. From Borlase's *Cornwall.* See p. 207.

Plate XII. Plan of Botallick Circles. From Borlase's *Cornwall.* See p. 215.

PLATE XIII. View of the Circle at Sinhinny, Aberdeenshire. See Plate X. p. 215.

PLATE XIV. View of part of the Circle at Ardlair, Aberdeenshire. P. 216.

PLATE XV. View of part of the Circle in the Churchyard of Midmar, Aberdeenshire. P. 220.

PLATE XVI. View on the plain of Carnac in Brittany, taken in 1857. See Plate IX. p. 232.

PLATE XVII. Plan of Avebury, showing the avenues of approach and the Mount of Silbury. See Frontispiece and Title-page ; also Plate XVIII. p. 235.

PLATE XVIII. Plan of the Great Circle at Avebury. See Plate XVII. ; the Frontispiece to Vol. I. ; and p. 234.

PLATE XIX. View of Stonehenge ; taken in 1856. It was too late to notice under the proper head in this work the account of a primitive monument seen by Palgrave[1] at Kaseem in Central Arabia. He was informed that there were other similar monuments in the same neighbourhood. This monument appears to be a near resemblance, in size of columns, massive architraves, and form of construction, to Stonehenge. Palgrave considers these monuments to have been "in some measure religious." He also states that in the surrounding districts planetary or Sabæan worship was, and still is, to a great extent practised. See Plate XX. p. 240.

PLATE XX. View of Stonehenge, as the Author believes it appeared, when perfect, to those entering from the East. See Plate XIX. p. 241.

PLATE XXI. Plan of the Circle at Castle-Rig, near Keswick, Cumberland. See Plate XXII. p. 244.

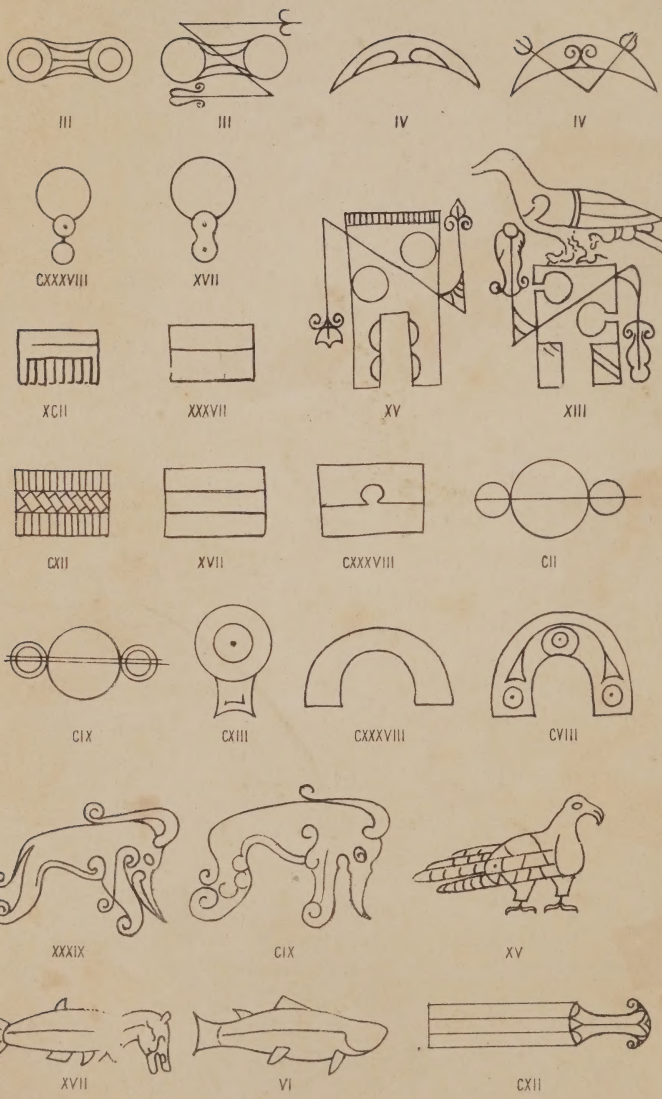
PLATE XXII. View of the Circle at Castle-Rig, and mountain of Blencathra beyond it. See Plate XXI. p. 245.

PLATE XXIII. Plan of Primitive Monument at Callernish in Lewes. From Paper by H. Callender, Esq., in *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 382. See p. 247.

PLATE XXIV. View of Great Menhir at Loc-Maria-Ker, Brittany, restored. From sketches by the Author, taken in 1857. See Plate XXV. p. 249.

PLATE XXV. View of Great Menhir at Loc-Maria-Ker, as it lies broken and prostrate. See Plate XXIV. p. 258.

[1] Palgrave's *Central and Eastern Arabia*, 1865, vol. i. p. 251.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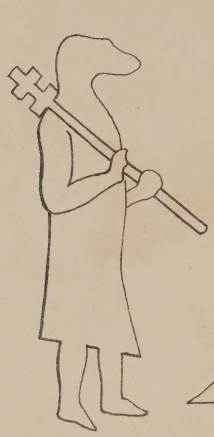

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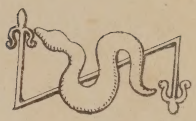

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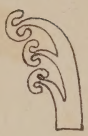

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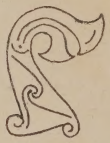

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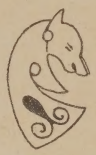

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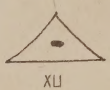

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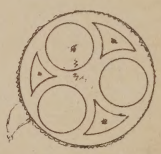

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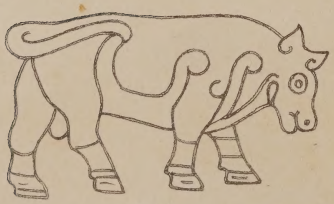

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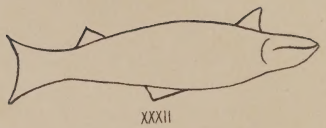

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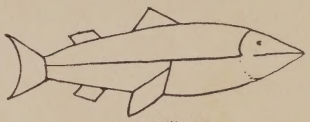

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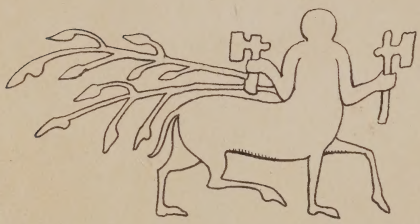

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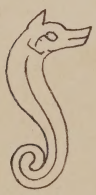

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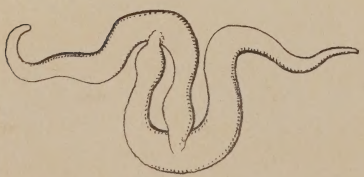

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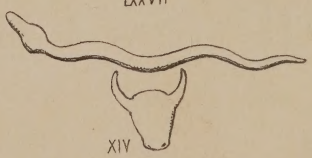

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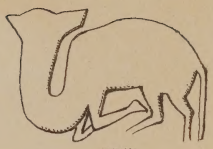

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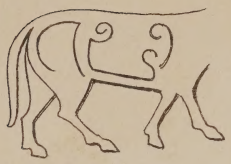

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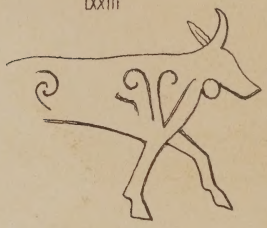

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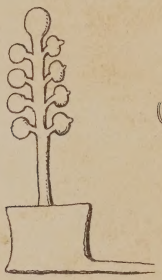

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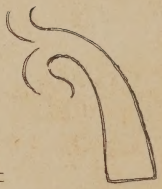

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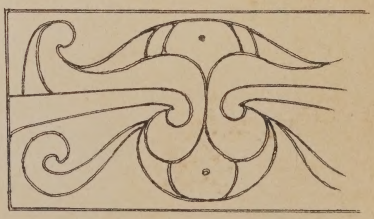

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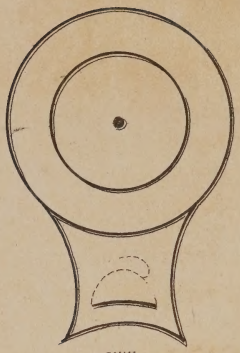

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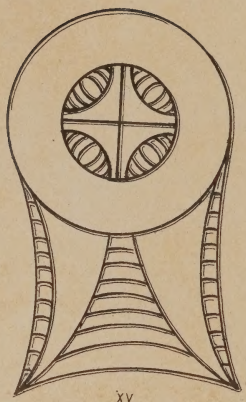

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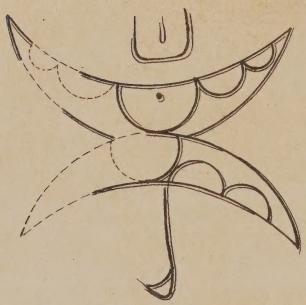

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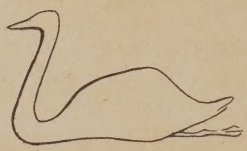

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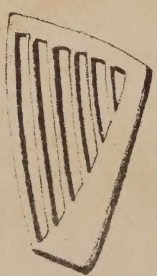

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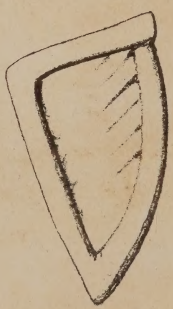


LXXXII

CHAPTER I.

NOTICES OF BRITAIN AND ITS INHABITANTS IN ANCIENT GREEK AND ROMAN AUTHORS.

Was Britain the Island ?—If so, Avebury may have been the Temple mentioned in the Fourth Century B.C.—Avebury only made generally known to the British Public in the Eighteenth Century—The Harp in use by the Ancient Inhabitants of Britain—They used Greek Characters, but not the Greek Language—Gold and Gold Ornaments—Torques—In Gaul and Britain the same Religion—Language nearly similar—Lost Country of Lionnesse—Religious services performed over the supposed Site of the submerged City of Ys—In Brittany, the alleged Site of the Palace and the Burial-Place of King Arthur —Launcelot-du-Lac, Merlin, etc.—Cassiterides, Tin Islands, Britain, mentioned by Herodotus in the Fifth Century B.C. ; by Aristotle in the Fourth Century B.C. ; by Polybius in the Second Century B.C. ; by Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, in the First Century B.C.

THERE is in Diodorus Siculus[1] a statement which it is important to examine when the primitive fanes and ancient religion of Britain are objects of inquiry. Some reasons are, therefore, now offered in support of the argument that Britain *is* the island, and that Avebury *may* be the temple of which Hecatæus had obtained vague information when he visited Syria in the fourth century B.C.[2] The notice which is now to be

[1] Booth's *Diodorus S.*, 1814, vol. i. pp. 138-39.

[2] I have treated the quotation as from Hecatæus of Abdera, although Hecatæus of Miletus may be meant ; in which case the account would not only be more ancient, but be still more valuable.

examined is introduced in no flattering terms by Diodorus, who says : Amongst those who have written old stories much like fables, Hecatæus and some others mention an island, over against Gaul, as big as Sicily, under the arctic pole, inhabited by Hyperboreans, so called because they lie beyond the blasts of the north ; that the soil is rich and fruitful, and the climate temperate ; that the inhabitants of this island worship Apollo above all other gods, ascribe to him the highest honours, sing daily praises of him, and behave as if they were his priests ; that Apollo had there a stately grove and renowned temple of *a round* form, beautified with many rich gifts ;[1] that there is a city consecrated to Apollo, the citizens of which employ themselves in chanting sacred hymns and tuning their lyres to the god ; that the inhabitants of the island have a language of their own, but have been visited by Greeks, who had made divers gifts inscribed with Greek characters ; moreover, that in this island the moon seems near the earth.

With regard to the island thus described, and its position, notwithstanding arguments to the contrary,[2] I think the description is only applicable to Britain. I proceed, therefore, to consider those points that have reference to the great circular temple ; to the worship of Apollo ; to the use of the

[1] Another translation of this passage is—"There is in the island a sacred enclosure of Apollo of great splendour, and a temple worthy of note, adorned with many offerings, and spherical in shape."—*Cat. Brit. Hist.* vol. i. p. cxxxii.

[2] By Toland, in his *History of the Druids.* A late writer, also of great research, and with ingenious arguments, attempts to prove that Heligoland, not Britain, is meant by Hecatæus.

lyre in the sacred rites ; to the accumulation of rich gifts in the temple ; to a native language ; and to Greek inscriptions. It is not unworthy of notice that Hecatæus, as he accompanied Alexander the Great to Syria, may have derived information regarding Britain from Phœnician sources, and he would naturally feel particularly interested in the worship of Apollo, whose attributes so nearly resembled those of the Celtic god Belenus.[1]

With respect to the stately grove and round temple, the penitentials and early laws of Christian Britain, as well as the notices by classical authors, sufficiently establish the fact of the heathen rites being celebrated in groves ; but the absence of any notice by Cæsar, Tacitus, or other ancient writers, regarding such Cyclopean monuments of the Celtic nations as Avebury, near the Roman station of Cunetio, or of Stonehenge, near the station of Sorbiodunum, is an omission that demands careful examination, and is only to be accounted for by the supposition that contempt for such rude monuments predominated over any feeling of wonder and admiration that might have been excited by the magnitude of the materials, and the extraordinary amount of labour expended in their erection.

Cæsar never reached the places in Britain just mentioned as being afterwards occupied by his countrymen, and could never have seen Stonehenge or Avebury ; but possibly, even probably, he passed at least one anxious day amongst the most extensive and wonderful of all the Celtic monuments—

[1] From Strabo it would appear that human victims were sacrificed at the promontory on which stood the temple of Apollo Leucatas. They were offered in honour of the god and to avert evil.

that day when, from ten A.M. until sunset, from the peninsula that overlooks the Morbihan Sea and the bay of Quiberon, he and his army watched the long-contested battle between the Roman fleet and the ships of the Celtic confederacy. Yet of the gigantic monuments at this spot, and in the surrounding country of the Veneti, Cæsar takes no notice. Those who have never seen the Cyclopean remains in that district, or doubt their antiquity, may nevertheless infer from the narrative of the victor that they existed, at any rate, prior to this naval action. For Cæsar followed up his success by putting the whole senate of the Veneti to death, and depopulating the country.[1] By some writers, much weight has been allowed to the proposition that the Greek and Roman authors not having mentioned the Celtic monuments, is all but conclusive that they did not exist at the time of the Romans. The same argument, duly followed out, would prove Avebury to be a modern erection; for Avebury lay unnoticed, not only by those who wrote in Greek and Latin, but also by those who wrote in Anglo-Saxon, Norman, or English, up to the seventeenth century. Yet a high-road from London to the west, through Marlborough to Bath, passing by the mount of Silbury, and crossing the stone avenues that led to Avebury from Overton and Beckhampton, was in existence in the time of the Roman dominion[2] in South Britain, and continues in general use to this day.

[1] C. Jul. Cæs. *De Bello Gallico*, lib. iii. c. 14, 15, 16.

[2] This is proved by the galleries worked into and along the base of the mount of Silbury in 1849. The *Via Badonica* avoided the mount. Had this mount not existed, the Roman road would have passed over its site. —*Archæological Institute*, Salisbury, 1849, p. 303.

Vastly superior in extent, as well as evidently of an antiquity greater than any similar monument in Britain, Avebury was nevertheless unknown or unnoticed until accidentally seen by Aubrey when following the hounds in 1648. The MSS. in which he describes Avebury was written about 1663 ; but it was eighty years after—viz., in 1743—that Stukeley visited, described, and *published* his account ;[1] until which time this extraordinary monument may be said to have been unknown to the British public.

To return to the stately grove and renowned circular temple mentioned by Hecatæus. There exist even now, in this country, the remains of many primitive temples of that form which once were shaded by stately groves. But there is one, in particular, of surpassing size and interest, viz., Avebury.[2] There is good reason to believe that it was in existence when Hecatæus wrote, and also that it was worthy of greater commendation if it had been better known to the historian of Abdera.

The next part of the passage from Hecatæus relating to the temple is that which mentions the worship of Apollo, the chanting of hymns, and accompaniment of the lyre, with which his votaries celebrated the praises of their god. There need be little hesitation in identifying the deity of the Celts, called Apollo by Hecatæus and Cæsar, with the god of day, or the sun, who was probably worshipped in Britain under the name of Bel, Belenus, or epithets somewhat similar.[3]

[1] Sir Richard Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*, vol. ii. pp. 57-65. 1812, fol.

[2] Described in the chapter on "Great Circular Fanes of Britain."

[3] See the articles "Bel-Baal," "Beltane."

Several ancient authors mention the bards who, like the Druids, formed a peculiar class in Gaul and Britain; and Diodorus Siculus informs us that they sing their verses and accompany themselves on instruments resembling lyres.[1] This is in some degree confirmatory of the statement by Hecatæus, as showing the early period at which the harp was in use by the Celtic race. It may also be considered worthy of notice that the British king Cunobelin, who is also called Belinus,[2] and flourished at the commencement of our era, had on the reverse of some of his coins the figure of Apollo with the lyre.[3]

The last two portions of the quotation from Hecatæus, the probable accuracy of which, as well as the reasons for their applicability to a temple in Britain, that remain to be stated are—the gifts inscribed with Greek characters, and the many valuable offerings with which the famous temple of Apollo was enriched. For confirmation of the first point reference must again be made to the pages of Cæsar, where he states that the Druids were not ignorant of the art of writing, and in their public and private reckonings made use of Greek characters. Pomponius Mela says that the Gauls had their accounts and claims for debts deposited with them in their graves.[4]

[1] The harp is found on the sculptured stones of Scotland, and was on a monument in Brittany, no longer existing, but described by Penhouet in the *Archæologie Armoricaine*. In the same sculpture were the circles, single and concentric, and the figure resembling a horse-shoe.

[2] Both by Dion Cassius and by Nennius.

[3] It is to be inferred from a notice by Bede regarding Caedmon that in the seventh century playing on the harp was an extremely general accomplishment.—Bædæ *Hist.*, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 237.

[4] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 104.

With regard to the many valuable offerings in the temple of Apollo, which, to some persons, may appear the most apocryphal part of the statement of Hecatæus, there are sufficient reasons for admitting the accuracy of what he had heard and recorded in regard to the riches of the place, supposing it to have been Avebury. Cæsar, in describing the customs of the Celts, says that the valuables they acquired in successful warfare might be seen heaped in consecrated places, and that the terrors of superstition, and the dread of cruel punishments, were sufficient to protect these hoards from theft or violence.[1] The variety and value of the torques and other ornaments possessed by the Celts is undoubted; for it is proved by the records of history, confirmed by the number of massive articles formed of gold, which at different times have been discovered and preserved. Yet the many specimens to be seen in public and private museums bear but a small proportion to those which have been found and secretly disposed of by fortunate and generally illiterate discoverers. Could a list and valuation be formed of gold ornaments that have been discovered in the United Kingdom, the manufacture of which must be referred to a very early or pre-historic period, it would surprise those who have not hitherto paid attention to the subject.[2] It has raised the question, Whence came the supplies of the precious metal? Did the Celtic race possess these treasures before they reached Britain? If not, where were the gold-fields in the island that furnished mate-

[1] C. Jul. Cæs. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 34.

[2] On this subject see Dr. Dan. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, and Dr. Todd's Address in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy for* 1856.

rial to the artificers who shaped the torques and girdles that have been found in secret hoards or sepulchral mounds? Strabo mentions gold and silver among the articles exported from Britain, and Tacitus says that both these metals were found in the island;[1] probably in superficial deposits, which if not exhausted will not now repay the expense of collection. It would appear that gold digging in the Scottish Borders, in Clydesdale, in Nithsdale, and in Crawfordmuir, was carried on with some success as late as the sixteenth century; that in 1567-68 Cornelius de Vois, from that district, sent eight pounds weight of gold to Edinburgh, the produce of thirty days' work of the persons he had employed; and that the Regent Morton presented to the French king a gold basin filled with gold pieces—all the produce of Scotland.[2]

In the fourth century B.C. Manlius conquered a Gaul of gigantic stature, and took from his neck the golden torque.[3] Torques were amongst the spoil taken from the Gauls by Marcellus B.C. 196, and by Scipio Nasica B.C. 191. In the second century B.C. Polybius mentions torques as a mark of distinction worn by Celts and Persians.[4] The Druids wore torques. Strabo mentions that they were worn by the Britons; and their Queen Boadicea is described by Dion Cassius as wearing one of large size. The Gauls, both men and women, wore

[1] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* pp. 6, 43.

[2] See Chambers's *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 17, 18, 50, 51, 108.

[3] In the Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum the Assyrian figures, whether plain or winged, wear armlets, some of which are joined; in others the ends of these bangles pass each other.

[4] Torques can be distinguished in the sculptures of Persepolis, and torques were deposited 530 years B.C. in the tomb of Cyrus.—*Archæological Journal*, 1845, vol. ii. p. 370.

bracelets of gold—massive chains of gold about their necks, with weighty rings on their fingers, and crosslets of gold on their breasts.[1] Torques have also been found in Etruscan tombs, which is an interesting fact, from the evidences that appear of a Celtic element in the original population of Italy. Thus we see that, from the earliest periods in which Celts and Druids are known in history, they were accustomed to wear gold ornaments, and considerable deposits of such valuables have been found in the neighbourhood, and within the primitive Cyclopean monuments of Armorica.

It is also to be remarked, that in the island mentioned by Hecatæus, although inscriptions in the Greek character were to be found, the inhabitants had a language of their own. This was the case with the Gauls in the time of Cæsar, from whom we learn that they used the Greek characters,[2] but did not understand the Greek language.[3] To give due force to this circumstance, however, it becomes necessary here to bring to notice, that at the commencement of the historic period the population both of Gaul and Britain was Celtic, and had a common religion and a common language. Cæsar says that the Druid institution is supposed to have been devised in Britain, and to have been brought thence into Gaul.[4] To this it has been objected that the assertion is not authoritatively from Cæsar himself. But the argument is of no weight as against the identity of the Druidical religion of the two

[1] Diodorus Siculus, b. v. Strabo, b. iv. c. iv.—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 104.

[2] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 33.

[3] Cæsar wrote in Greek when his letter had to be conveyed through his Gaulish enemies to his beleaguered lieutenant, Q. Cicero.

[4] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 33.

countries, for Cæsar says distinctly that those persons in Gaul who desire to obtain a more perfect knowledge of the Druid system generally proceed for the purpose of studying it to the island of Britain.[1] Tacitus says that in Gaul and Britain you will find the same religious rites and the same superstition; that the languages of the two nations differed but little, and the free and unconquered part of the British nation retained the ferocity of the ancient Gauls.[2] After having inquired into the customs and examined the antiquarian remains in the parts of the united kingdom where the Celtic race and language have kept the firmest hold, let any one proceed to Armorica—read its legends—visit its Cyclopean monuments—hear the Celtic language and the music of the baniou or bagpipes—and he will be convinced of the accuracy of the remarks made by the Roman authors, that the ancient inhabitants of Gaul and Britain were not only a cognate race, but had similar institutions.

Antiquarian writers who have treated of the county of Cornwall, from Norden and Carew up to those of the present century,[3] all mention the submerged country of Lionnesse, which, according to tradition, they say extended from the Scilly Isles to the present Land's End. Some of these writers even retail statements of buildings seen there beneath the water, and others improve on this by the tales of doors or windows brought up by fishermen from the spot where the

[1] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 33. [2] *Ibid.* p. 42.

[3] Even to Murray's *Handbook for Cornwall*, 1850, p. 137.

submerged houses had been seen ;[1] the details being completed by the account of an ancestor of the Trevelyans and Vivyans who was saved by his horse, which brought him safe to the mainland through the flood by which the country of Lionnesse was overwhelmed, all which is attested by the armorial bearings of these families.[2] One country of Leonais, and probably the one believed to be lost, still exists in France. It comprehended the divisions of Morlaix and Brest, and its limits nearly corresponded to those of the modern department of Finisterre. As Cæsar destroyed the fleet of the Veneti and their Celtic allies, with which, he says, they traded to Britain from these coasts, the sudden cessation of a continued intercourse with a kindred race may be the cause of the tradition of the lost country of Lionnesse.

It is, however, a singular fact, that a somewhat similar tradition—viz., of a part of the extreme west portion of the ancient Celtic division of Cornouaille,[3] adjoining that of the Leonais in Armorica, having been submerged—is still preserved in that district. Between Guilvenec and Penmarch the pilots on that coast still endeavour to point out, at a depth of twenty feet beneath the surface of the ocean, Druidical altars, the remains of the submerged city of Ys. Even until the commencement of the present century the priests and all the people of that part of the coast annually assembled to embark in their boats, and proceed to where the priest offered Christian sacri-

[1] The shipwrecks in this dangerous locality will sufficiently explain whence the doors and windows were derived.

[2] Gibson's *Camden*, vol. i. p. 148, 1772, fol. ; and Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, p. 7, 1811, 4to.

[3] Cornwall in Brittany.

fice over the spot where the city of Ys is believed to have stood.[1] Probably in Europe these were the last ceremonies offered for heathen ancestors, and the most marked continuance of rites commenced under a heathen priesthood. It will be seen from this detail that there is not only the country of Lionais, but also that of Cornwall, as ancient divisions of Brittany. In the former the site of King Arthur's palace is pointed out, also the island of Aiguilon, where they say he was buried, and the site of the castle of Launcelot-du-lac and La Blonde Yseult on the banks of the Elorn. In the next Celtic division to Cornwall, in the Morbihan, is shown the forest of Brocelinde, where Merlin "drees his weird;" and there also is the consecrated fountain of Balanton, which is still believed to possess miraculous properties. There also may be found Caradoc and Madoc, and other names familiar to the ancient legends of British history.

The mention of the Iernian Isles in the Argonautica, like the quotation from Hecatæus, may be received as confirmatory of a vague knowledge possessed by the Greeks in the fourth and sixth centuries B.C. regarding the British Islands. That this knowledge was derived through, and purposely mystified by the Phœnicians, we may be assured, as we have evidence of the extreme jealousy with which they regarded, and the success with which they baffled all attempts to discover the route to the islands whence they procured an abundant supply of tin.[2] This jealousy is evident in the treaty concluded

[1] Souvestre, *Derniers Bretons*, vol. i. pp. 36, 37. Paris, 1854.
[2] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 5.

between the Romans and Carthaginians in the middle of the fourth century B.C.[1] By it the Romans bound themselves not to extend their voyages to the west beyond Tarseius.

Herodotus, in the fifth century B.C., admits that he knew nothing of the Cassiterides ; but the same paragraph contains the important addition, "from which we get tin."[2]

A century later, viz., in the middle of the fourth century, all we can learn from Aristotle is, that he knew that the Britannic Isles were in the ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules ; that the two largest were called Albion and Ierne ; and that these islands lay beyond the Celts.

Polybius, in the second century B.C., mentions the Britannic Isles and the preparation of tin, but does not return to the subject in any of his works which have been preserved.

Hitherto the traffic from Britain to the Mediterranean seems to have been monopolised by the Phœnicians, but in the first or possibly in the second century B.C., Publius Crassus made known to the Romans the route by sea from the Pillars of Hercules to the tin islands.

In the first century B.C. we have the Roman invasion and Britain described by Cæsar, and also the statement of Strabo and Diodorus Siculus regarding the island and its export of tin.

Tin appears to have been well known and common in the time of Moses.[3] And it may be inferred that it was brought into Palestine from the west, as it is not mentioned amongst

[1] Polybius, b. iii. [2] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 1.
[3] Numbers xxxi. 22, 49.

the articles imported by the fleets of Solomon to the port of Ezion-Geber on the Red Sea. Moreover, it is mentioned as being brought to the Phœnician harbours from Tarshish.[1] Tarseius, or Tartessus,[2] was a name of various Phœnician settlements in Andalusia; and from their colonies in that part of Spain it is known that the Phœnicians derived their principal mineral wealth. There seems, however, to be good reason for believing that the mines of Spain were insufficient for the supply of Eastern Europe and Western Asia with a metal so necessary as tin—required as an alloy for the copper, which in early ages was used for the manufacture of most domestic vessels, as well as in all armour for defence and warlike weapons—and that from the British Isles a great part of the tin was supplied to the Greeks at a much earlier period, as we see it was in the time of Herodotus; contributing to make tin an article of no rarity even in the days of Homer.[3]

[1] Ezekiel xxvii. 12.

[2] The importance of Tarseius, Tarshish, to the Phœnicians, to Tyre, is particularly shown in the 23d ch. of Isaiah, where Tyre is even called the "daughter of Tarshish."

[3] It must have been at a very early period that mining implements of holly, box, and hartshorn were used in the ancient tin-works of Cornwall, where they have been commonly found; and such tools Norden, in his *Survey of Cornwall* in 1584, truly and quaintly calls weak pickaxes for such obdurate materials. And in Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* he mentions as found in old mines "tool-heads of brass called thunderaxes," which, he says, "make small show of any profitable use."

Eratosthenes mentions the Hesperides, whence tin proceeds.

CHAPTER II.

ETHNOLOGY OF CALEDONIA.

Early Migrations—The Gypsies—Islands of the Blessed—Ancient Celtic Traditions—Early Celtic Inhabitants—Albannaich—Aborigines—Gaels and Britons—Belgae—Gaels the Earliest Inhabitants in the Historical Period—Celtic Words, Inver and Aber—Sliabh and Ben—Llan, Pen, and Ken—Bal and Ard—The four Pictish Words—Albannaich and Cruithne—Dalriad Scots of Caledonia—Picts of Ireland—Mass of the Early Population of Caledonia Celtic.

IF the principal inhabitants of Britain and Western Europe came from the East, history gives no direct information of their migration, nor of the continued but irregular flow, when wave succeeded wave in the human tide that bore the ancestors of European nations to the regions of their destiny. It is, however, easy to comprehend with how little reluctance nomad tribes, accustomed to continual change of place for themselves and pasturage for their flocks, would pass beyond conventional limits ; and that rivers, mountains, and narrow seas would be insufficient to restrain multitudes allured by the ambition of leaders, or impelled by the terrors of pestilence and famine to leave the haunts of their youth and the graves of their ancestors.

If permitted to judge of unrecorded ages by events that

have occurred at a later period and are preserved in history, it may be presumed that the lust of conquest and religious intolerance were great impelling causes of the original expatriation and onward movement of various races. Conquerors, perhaps styled *Great* by their flatterers, and fanatics, deemed *Saints* by their followers, have often caused the greatest calamities to their fellow-men, and were probably amongst the most efficient causes of the earliest, as well as of the latest, migration from the East into Europe, viz., that of the race usually called Gypsies. There were Gypsies—or a scattered race nearly answering the description of that unsettled people—in various parts of Central Asia at a very early period. But I allude to the horde, more numerous then than others that are nations now, that crossed into Europe in the early part of the fifteenth century. In them we see accomplished, at a comparatively recent period, the progress of a very large body of inhabitants of Hindostan from that land of the sun to the cloudy extremities of Western Europe. The lot of the Gypsies has been a hard one, even in Britain. "Tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast," the wonder is that they have survived and still remain a separate race, notwithstanding savage proscriptions, continued evil treatment, and never-ceasing hardships. Does not their remaining under such circumstances suggest the idea of an instinctive law which has ever prevented the uncivilised races of mankind from turning back on the path over which they were pressed onwards to the West? And as regards the subject we are now considering, such a peculiarity in our constitution might in some measure

account for the numerous and gigantic monuments of Celtic or Preceltic erection that cumber the barren peninsulas and rocky islets of ancient Armorica, and extend over Britain and Ireland to the Western and Orkney Isles.

There were many persons at one time who, in their zeal for the honour of the country, maintained that Britain was one of "the Islands of the Blessed." They failed to prove their case; but when Clement VI., who was Pope from A.D. 1342 to 1352, granted "the Fortunate Isles," meaning only the Canaries, to Lewis, Earl of Claremont, the English ambassadors at Rome—amongst whom were Henry of Lancaster, the Earl of Derby, and the Bishop of Oxford[1]—seriously doubted lest their own country had been comprised in the donation.

Procopius relates a curious Celtic tradition, viz., that the inhabitants of Gaul living opposite to Britain were exempt from tribute on account of their being employed in ferrying departed spirits to the British shores. To the Gauls these spirits were invisible, and, in so far, less material than the phantom-boat that, fleet as the wind, bore its light freight to land, and brought back the human crew to their proper haven. This legend seems to refer to blessed spirits. But the modern version, as given by Souvestre,[2] although it shows the long endurance of such tales in a Celtic population, only applies to the souls of the wicked; and it is satisfactory to find that they are not destined emigrants to the British isles.

[1] Also Ralph, Lord Stafford, and Hugh Spencer.—Selden's Notes on *Polyolbion*, p. 14, 1622, fol.

[2] Souvestre, *Derniers Bretons*, vol. i. p. 118.

It is believed, says Souvestre, that in the dead of the night wicked inhabitants of the promontory of Saint Gildas de Rhuis are awakened by three knocks, given by no mortal hand, at the door of their houses. By the same invisible and irresistible power they are impelled to arise, to proceed to the shore, and to embark in the long, black, and apparently empty barge which awaits their arrival. Once on board, a large white sail rises and distends itself, whilst the spectre-barge glides swiftly from the land, bearing its augmented freight of wicked, viewless spirits; and all "drive on, and on, and anchored ne'er shall be."

From historical facts and reasonable deductions there appears sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion, that the earliest inhabitants of Caledonia to which reference can be found in the Greek or Roman authors were of Celtic origin and spoke the Celtic language. Albiones, Britons, Caledonians, Picts, Scots, and Attacots may have been different tribes, and may have had different dialects; but they were of Celtic race, and spoke a Celtic language. Although the name of Scotland is derived from the tribe of Scots, yet, under that name at least, they were neither the earliest of its inhabitants nor the most numerous of the settlers that occupied Caledonia, *i.e.* Scotland, beyond the Firths of Forth and Clyde.

That the island of Britain was called Albion we learn from two authors of the fourth century B.C.; and Albannaich is the most ancient and honoured appellation which the earliest Gaelic poets used for their countrymen. It is to be found in the "Albanach Duan," an historical poem which, in its pre-

sent form, is admitted to be of the eleventh century. At the battle of the Standard, in 1138, the English annalist Hoveden says, "The Scots raised the shout of their country, and the cries of Albany, Albany, ascended to the heavens." The name is also employed by a poet of Celtic lineage writing in the present century: Campbell makes the wizard foretell to Lochiel that the tears of Albin would not outnumber the dead when the merciless sword of Cumberland should wave over the gory field of Culloden—that last distinctive struggle in which the Albannaich were destined to engage ere they merged in the modern generic name of Scots or Britons.[1]

Whether the Celtic superseded in Britain an earlier race, or were themselves the dimly-shadowed-forth earliest of prehistoric occupants of the soil or the forests, cannot yet be decided; but many facts and still-increasing evidence warrant a conviction that all, or the fairest portions, of Britain were inhabited at a period far more remote than we are accustomed to receive, or rather to assume, as having been established. In the first century before Christ there is the testimony of Cæsar, corroborated by others,[2] that the number of the inhabitants in Britain was very great—numberless is his expression. That the island was fully peopled, even to its utmost limits, is a proof that it had been long inhabited; and

[1] In Selden's notes on *Polyolbion*, p. 122, in reference to the word "Albanacht," he admits Albania to be properly applied to Scotland. In that most valuable Celtic record now being edited for the Spalding Club by Mr. Joseph Robertson—viz., the *Book of Deir*—Alba is the name of Scotland in a charter of the middle of the twelfth century.

[2] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* pp. 31, 32.

this is further corroborated by the resistance offered by the South Britons at first, and by the Caledonians at all times, when attacked by the Romans. But the most convincing proof is the necessity the Romans felt to guard against the attacks of the North British tribes by building fortified walls connecting both coasts of the island; and that these great works often partially, and eventually altogether, failed to prevent the devastating inroads of the Celts from beyond the ramparts of Antoninus and Hadrian. Cyclopean remains also bear testimony that the teeming population of Britain extended to its northern, as it certainly did to Mona, Anglesea, its western limit. Even the Western Isles seem to have been no exception, and to have been early inhabited, as they were thickly peopled. Witness the extensive monolithic remains in the islands and islets of that group, particularly "the Grey Stones" of Classernish and the adjacent cromlechs, as well as numerous others in the island of Lewes. At one of these the moss, eight feet in depth, was cleared away before reaching the base of the rude columns of a primitive circular temple which had been obscured by the slow growth and natural accumulation of vegetable soil.[1] Even the smallest of the inhabited islets in the Hebrides, where now only two or three families exist, possess remains of primitive Cyclopean monuments.

Ethnology, when it passes beyond the limits of tradition, history, and primitive monuments, must be greatly dependent on geology, unless we consider craniology a sufficient evidence

[1] Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, pp. 115, 116, 150.

on which to establish facts. There is the testimony of the rocks ;[1] the flint instruments found, along with the remains of extinct animals in or beneath undisturbed beds of gravel, sand, and clay ; the bone-caves, with and without human relics ; the skeleton of a whale and deer-horn harpoon, the probable cause of the death of the fish, found twenty-five feet above the highest level of the waters of the Forth, and under a deep covering of slowly-accumulating soil ; canoes found at great depths beneath the surface of the land, and far from any existing lake or stream. These and such like facts may possibly be explained, and their dates be approximately estimated by geologists. To them we must look if we expect any information as to the time that may have elapsed between the deposit of such early proofs of man's existence in these islands and the first notices of them by history. To geologists also we must trust for arguments, if such there be, by which archæological data, and creation as revealed in the material world, may be reconciled with received chronology.

The preceding remarks have a more general reference to Britain ; what follow are limited to the ethnology of Caledonia,

[1] At Brixham, in Devonshire, and in France, near Abbeville, and near Amiens ; at Hoxne, in Suffolk, and other places, as described by M. de Perthes, Prestwich, Flower-Evans, and Sir C. Lyell. A Celt was found imbedded in granite "in a socket exactly fitted to it," when the firm and solid mass was blasted with gunpowder. So states the Reverend Mr. Little in his account of the parish of Southwick (*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xvii. p. 110). See also a similar case mentioned in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 106.

The lake-dwellings as yet afford the best data for calculating periods of remote antiquity in regard to man's existence, although some of them may have been formed in times comparatively recent.—See Sir C. Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, pp. 319, 373, 375.

or Britain on the north of the rivers and estuaries of Forth and Clyde. Following the example of a well-known ethnologist,[1] a series of propositions are now offered, and, in so far as regards the Celtic race when it is first distinguished in Western Europe, the opinions and propositions of Dr. Latham are adopted. It is after the Picts are mentioned, or rather the Pictish name appears, that a different view is taken of additional elements supposed to have been added to the previous occupants of Caledonia.

The position in which the Gaels appear at the commencement of the historical period, unless in some fragmentary portions of the race, or as an element in mixed populations, was on the extreme verge of the north-western portions of Europe, viz., in the northern parts of Britain, in Ireland, and in the Western Isles.

Next the Gaels, pressing on them and partly amalgamating with them, was another great division of the Celtic race, viz., the British; the advancing British probably intruding on the Gaels, as the Gaels had intruded on some previous occupants of the soil, Celtic or Preceltic, who are unknown to history, and as yet only partially substantiated by ethnology.

If it could be proved, and it is probable, that the route of the migration of the Gaels was by Africa through Spain, the tradition of Spanish origin, and the appearance of Spanish features in some of the tribes, can be accounted for by Iberian

[1] Dr. Latham's *Ethnology of the British Islands*, 1852. Also Latham's *Descriptive Ethnology*, vol. ii. chaps. iv. and xviii., 1859.

intermixture,[1] as well as by later communication under the management of Phœnicians, or the impulse given by Phœnician adventure to the inhabitants of the peninsula. The legends of the miraculous transport of the monument of Stonehenge from Africa to Spain, from Spain to Ireland, and from Kildare to Britain, would thus admit of some foundation. This would also be the case with the alleged migration of the Lia-Fail, or "Stone of Destiny," of the Scottish race, which is now in the coronation-chair at Westminster.

The form of the circular columnar temples, so common in Celtic countries, might easily have been preserved during the longest migration, by ranging small stones so as to form circular fanes similar to those of a temporary kind that, even in the present day, are commonly erected in the Dekhan of India. Such fanes, only more important in design and materials, would then have been erected when the migratory race attempted or established what they may have deemed a permanent settlement.[2]

The propositions above alluded to are now[3] introduced, and when they are at variance with the views of late influen-

[1] Several of the early Spanish historians have notices, even names and details, of colonies and their leaders that departed in prehistorical ages from Spain and passed into Ireland. These notices, however, can only be received as vague traditions, of equal or less value than similar traditions adopted into ancient Irish histories. But in a separate chapter the chain of similar primitive monuments are traced through Northern Africa and Spain to France and Britain.

[2] This subject is more particularly referred to in the chapter on the primitive monuments of India and other countries.

[3] These propositions are marked with inverted commas, and with Roman numerals.

tial writers, arguments are given in support of the opinions now advanced.

PROPOSITION I. "*There were two great and independent divisions of Celts—viz., the Gaels and the Britons.*"

II. "*The British Isles were peopled from the Celtic portions of the European Continent.*"

III. "*The Gaels had been for a very long period established in portions of the west and north-west of Europe before the Britons pressed them onwards to the extremities of the British Isles.*"[1]

IV. "*The Belgæ were Celts of the British branch; that is, they were so at the period in which they could have had any influence in regard to the subject now under consideration.*"[2]

V. "*The country mentioned as Caledonia by the Romans was by the Gaels called Albainn, and its inhabitants Albannaich.*"

[1] For proof of original Keltic, particularly Gælic, elements in the Latin language, see Professor F. W. Newman's *Regal Rome*.

"Whilst Italy was still barbarous, the Kelts were formidable" (Latham's *Descriptive Ethnology*, vol. ii. p. 505).

[2] In support of this opinion, see Souvestre in his *Derniers Bretons*, vol. i. pp. 142, 143, 144; also Latham's *Ethnology of the British Islands*, p. 224.

Niebuhr, in his *Ethnography*, translated by Dr. Schmitz, vol. ii. pp. 306, 307, may also be quoted in favour of this proposition, although in a paragraph immediately following he accuses an English officer of the "bold assertion" as a fact of what Niebuhr alleges was an impossibility, viz., "That soldiers from the Highlands of Scotland conversed with the people of Ireland." The officer stated the truth. The accuser rashly denies what he could easily have ascertained to have been correct.

VI. "*The Gaels were the original Celtic population of Caledonia in the historic period.*"

The name by which the island of Britain is first distinguished is Albion—evidently the same as Albainn, by which name Caledonia was known to the Gaels of Ireland—its inhabitants in consequence being called Albannaich. These were also the names recognised by the Gaelic inhabitants of Caledonia for themselves and their country.

The ancient names of rivers, mountains, rocks, and remarkable natural objects in Caledonia are Gaelic. The names of persons to be found in the cartularies and most ancient records, as in the venerable Book of Deir in the north-eastern district of Caledonia, are generally Gaelic. At the battle of the Standard in 1138, the English annalist Hoveden says, "The Scots raised the shout of their country, and the cries of Albany, Albany, ascended to the heavens." Albania and Albanacht are used for Scotland and the Scotch by Drayton, and approved by Selden. Chamberlayne says, "The Highlanders speak a sort of Irish which they call Albanach, and which they have both from the ancient Scots who came out of Ireland and from the Picts who were originally Britons."

Previous to offering some remarks on names of places and words attributed to the two prominently different races and languages of the Celts in Britain, the opinions on this subject of the latest historian of Scotland, and of the last writer who has treated of the early population of Scotland, are here in-

serted. Mr. Fraser Tytler says that in the year 1093 the "Gaelic or Celtic people inhabited nearly the whole of Scotland to the north of the Firth of Forth."[1] And the Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh[2] thinks "it cannot be questioned that the language of Scotland—king, court, and people, Highland and Lowland, except a narrow strip of sea-coast—in the reign of Malcolm Kenmore,[3] was Celtic or Gaelic."

It does not seem now to be maintained that what is sometimes called the Scottish Conquest was otherwise than the royal race of the Picts being supplanted, possibly after they and their adherents had been defeated by their relations and rivals of the Scottish royal race in the ninth century. Neither can it be successfully urged that it was after this event, in A.D. 843, when the Scots of the Irish branch obtained the kingly power in the south and east of Caledonia, that the mountains, rivers, and remarkable places of these fertile parts of the country first received their Gaelic names, and that the inhabitants of these districts then and at once adopted the Gaelic language.[4]

The Celtic words Inver and Aber have nearly the same

[1] P. F. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 188.

[2] Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 85, 86.

[3] His reign extended from 1057 to 1093.

[4] In Aberdeenshire, even since the commencement of the present century, a great change has passed, and is still in progress, in the names of places. In the Lowlands of Scotland the progress of draining has destroyed the modest rills that flowed half-concealed through green swampy glens or sheltered glades, and names commencing with the Gælic "Allt" are now seldom heard. Other Celtic names have been changed, and many can be traced, although absurdly fashioned into Saxon forms.

meaning; and the relative position in which they occur in names of places has been employed as if it were a sufficient argument for defining the presence or preponderance of the British or Gaelic Celts in certain districts. In this way Aber, prefixed to names of places, has been urged as adequate proof that the Picts of Caledonia were Celts of the British branch. The value of these and some other words requires examination. Inver is to be found in names of places in Wales. It may possibly be a British word. It certainly is a Gaelic one. Aber, although undoubtedly British, is also Gaelic—compounded of the two words Ath and Bior—and signifying the same as Inver, viz., the confluence of two streams, or the entrance to a river. If the word Aber had been unknown to the Gaelic scholars of modern days, its former existence in that language might have been presumed from the ancient names of places in the districts of Caledonia, where it occurs most frequently, being generally Gaelic and not British.

Beyond the limits of Caledonia on the south of the Forth and Clyde, but within the boundary of modern Scotland, the word Inver, generally pronounced Inner, is of common occurrence, and bears witness to a Gaelic nomenclature. Thus, Inner or Inverkip, in the county of Renfrew; Innerwell, in the county of Wigton; Innerwick, in the county of Haddington; Innerleithen, in the county of Peebles; Inverleith and Inveresk, in the county of Edinburgh, derive their names from their situation in regard to the rivers Kip, Leithen, Esk, etc. etc.

From the Moray Firth to the Forth, in the eastern counties of Caledonia, the prefix Inver or Aber is used

indiscriminately in contiguous places. At the confluence of lesser streams with the river Dee, in Aberdeenshire, we find Inverey, Abergeldie, Invercauld, Invercanny, Aberdeen. Yet in those counties—viz., Aberdeen, Kincardine, Forfar, Perth, and Fife, in which were situated the capitals, and which were the richest provinces of the southern Picts—the number of names of places beginning with Inver is three times as numerous as those commencing with Aber ; there being, in a list taken from land-registers, which do not go farther back than the middle of the sixteenth century, seventy-eight with Inver to twenty-four with Aber. It may, however, be admitted that, although Aber is Gaelic, its use is far more general by Celts of the British tribes ; and that the predominance of Inver in the districts north of the Spey, and the intermixture of places the names of which commence with Inver or Aber, not unfrequently used in records of nearly the same date for the same place in the country lying between the Moray and the Solway Firths, is, to a certain extent, evidence of a British element of population extending into Caledonia. The Britons, in earlier times, may have been pressing on to the north by gradual intrusion, and were probably afterwards increased by bodies of exiles escaping from the severity of Roman bondage and the punishment of unsuccessful revolt.

By late eminent ethnological authorities, the word Sliabh, as the Gaelic for mountain, being, it is assumed, confined to Ireland, and not known "even in the Gaelic parts of Scotland," is deemed, along with the prevalence of the word Aber, to be all but conclusive against the country

having been early and generally occupied by the Gaelic branch of the Celts. Although many more examples might be produced, those already noted are sufficient to destroy the value of the argument founded on the words Aber and Inver. The like effect will, it is presumed, result from an examination into the real meaning of the word Sliabh, which, it has been alleged, was the true Irish Gaelic word for mountain, whilst Ben was the word similarly employed in Caledonia.

Assent may justly be refused to whatever is important in these alleged facts, whilst it may be admitted that Sliabh is the current word for many mountains in Ireland. But "Sliabh," though called synonymous by those who uphold these views with Moin or Muin, a mountain, rather means a heathy ground, whether it be low and flat, or in the shape of a hill. "Sliabh" signifies "any heathland, whether mountain[1] or plain."

The statement that Sliabh, as mountain or moor, is unknown or uncommon either in the Gaelic parts or even in those districts of Caledonia farthest removed from the portions so designated, is a mistake. Sliabh Ghaoil, Sliabh-diasg—the Sleuch mountain above Loch Maree—at once occur in refutation; and no doubt many more might be added. But it is of more consequence, in support of the proposition which this note is intended to demonstrate, to turn to names of places in the eastern and southern parts of

[1] O'Brien's *Dictionary*, 1832, quoted in Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, 1857, 4to.

Caledonia in which Sliabh can be distinctly traced, although now in a corrupted form.

In a very ancient deed fixing the boundaries of certain lands granted to the religious establishment of Culdees at Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire, by King Malcolm Canmore, one of the points specified is from the summit of the mountain called Scleuemingorne,[1] the Hill of the Goats ; Slamannan, in Stirlingshire,[2] but bordering on Linlithgow and Lanarkshires ; Rupe de Slwy,[3] Kincardineshire ; Sleavenochill—Sleive-n-Ochill—the Ochill-hills ; Sliauche and Slouie, Aberdeenshire ; Sleug and Slew, in Perthshire ; Slew, Wigtonshire, etc. etc.

Neither is Ben or Beinn, as a Gaelic word for mountain or hill, in any way confined to Caledonia or uncommon in Ireland. In the extreme north-west portion of Ireland there is the mountain of Benmore ; and in the extreme east of that island, Ben Edair, the ancient name of what is now so well known as the Hill of Howth. Then there are Benna Boirche, mountains of Mourne ; Ben-dubh, Tipperary ; Ben Levagh, Galway ; Benbalbagh and Benicolben, Sligo ; Benchor, Bangor, Ulster ; Ben Eigny, now Benyvenagh, near Loch Foyle ; Benduff, Tipperary, etc. etc.

Having thus stated reasons why Aber and Slieve, so far

[1] Scleuemingorne—Sleive-nan-Gaorain—"versus orientem usque ad cacumen montis qui vocatur Scleuemingorne quod interpretatur Mora Caprarum."—Robertson's *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff Shires*, Spalding Club, vol. i. p. 172.

[2] Sliebh Mannain.

[3] Slew is often used for Sliebh in Irish names ; as Slewardagh for Sliebhardagh ; Slemish for Sliebh-Mis, etc.

from being conclusive, are not even available as important evidence in contradiction of the proposition that the original Celtic population of Caledonia was Gaelic, not British, I proceed to point out a few words in confirmation of the proposition, and in proof that it equally applies to the inhabitants of the eastern and southern as to those of the western districts of Caledonia. Neither do the words now to be quoted depend on a few or solitary instances. Thus, an ordinary gazetteer[1] shows upwards of four hundred and fifty names of places in Wales beginning with Llan, and only one in Caledonia.[2] Beyond its southern limits, but principally in Wales and Cornwall, names of places commencing with Pen may be reckoned by hundreds ; in Caledonia three or four only have this prefix ; the Gaelic equivalent Ken, Kean, or Kin, as now used, but originally Ceann or Cinn,[3] is that found in names of places to which Pen is applicable on the northern side of the Forth. Ken or Kin is more common in Wales than Pen in Scotland ; for instances—Kinmael, Flintshire ; Kengarth, Pembrokeshire ; Kinnerton, Radnorshire ; Kenfig, Glamorganshire, etc.

That names of places containing the words Bal, from Bail, a place or residence, and Ard, a height or rising ground, are so common in Ireland and comparatively rare, so is alleged, in Caledonia, has also been used as an argument to prove

[1] Gorton's *Topographical Dictionary.*

[2] Even the existence of that one is capable of being explained so as not to affect the argument, viz., Llanbride, in Morayshire.

[3] There is no letter K in Gaelic. In the counties of Aberdeen, Kincardine, Forfar, Fife, and Perth, a cursory examination of registers shows three names beginning with Pen, and two hundred with Kean or Kin.

that the language of the Picts and other Caledonians of the southern and eastern districts was British, not Gaelic. But the foundation of the argument has been assumed, and is easily disproved. It is true that of large towns and places that appear in gazetteers names commencing with Bal and Ard are not numerous. But in fact such names are extremely common. In the lowlands of Aberdeenshire—that is, in the portion of one county, and in the part of Caledonia farthest removed from the settlements of the intrusive Gaels, viz., the Scots from Ireland—registers of land show upwards of fifty places the names of which commence with Bal, and forty which commence with Ard. In the Pictish territory, from the Moray Firth to the Forth, I soon collected upwards of four hundred names of places beginning with Bal, and upwards of one hundred with Ard; and the number might easily be doubled.

VII. "*The Picts were Gaels, but being pressed on by British Celts, and afterwards augmented by British emigrants, became eventually, particularly in the eastern and southern parts of Caledonia, not less Celtic but to some extent British.*"

There seems sufficient reason for believing that the Picts were the ancient Celtic inhabitants of the southern, northern, and eastern districts of Caledonia, who received from others, about the commencement of the fourth century, the name of Picts in place of Caledonians;[1]—neither of these names, it is

[1] Many of the arguments on this point will be found in Thomas Innes's

probable, being acknowledged by themselves; but that point is immaterial.

Bede informs us[1] that two savage *foreign* nations—the Scots from the north-west and the Picts from the north, who attacked the inhabitants of South Britain—were not called *foreign* from being inhabitants of countries out of Britain, but because they were from that part of Britain which extended beyond two inlets of the sea—viz., the Firths of Forth and Clyde. It cannot be doubted, from the constitution of Celtic society, that there were various subdivisions in the Scots as well as in the Picts. One of these tribes seems particularly to have attracted attention—viz., the Attacotti, who by one ancient author are called a warlike race;[2] while St. Jerome vouches for their being fastidious cannibals.[3]

Bede cannot, in his account of the languages of Britain, be asserted as giving authority, direct or implied, to any greater affinity between the language of the Picts and the Britons than between that of the Scots and the Picts. He merely states the four languages of Great Britain as being those of the Britons, Picts, Scots, and English.

Valuable as any information acquired from Bede un-

Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, pp. 20-22, Spalding Club, 1853. See also Mr. W. F. Skene's *Highlands of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 12-20, and a whole array of authors and authorities in Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 191-230.

[1] *Hist. Eccl. Angl.* lib. i. cap. xii. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 117.

[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lxxiii.

[3] St. Jerome, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. xcix. It has been suggested that the name given by classic authors to this tribe, viz., the Attacotti, may have been derived from an epithet applied to them by other tribes or communities that suffered from their ferocity. The Gaelic words, Athaich-Coillteach, are not very different in sound—Athaich signifying "giants," and Coillteach "a woody country."

doubtedly is in regard to the Picts and Scots, there is a work equally trustworthy, of earlier date, and from its peculiar scope naturally affording much more detailed information on the subjects now under consideration. I allude to Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba.*[1] From this history it would not appear that there was any great difference between the language spoken by the saint and the dialect of the Picts. There is indeed one passage that directly, and one which doubtfully refers to St. Columba, as employing some one to interpret for him when addressing the Picts and while explaining the Scriptures.[2] But in reasoning with the Pictish King Brudeus, and with the king's tutor, Broichan the Druid, the saint does not seem to have required an interpreter, nor when he explained true religion and converted Emchatus and his household. These circumstances admit of easy explanation, if we acknowledge as authority the lives of St. Cainich and St. Comgall, who are said to have accompanied St. Columba when he visited the Pictish king at his fortress[3] near the Ness river, and to have taken part in his conversion; for these friends of St. Columba were of the race of the Irish Picts.[4] From the ancient names of places, rivers, and mountains in Caledonia, there cannot have been any great difference between the dialects of the Scots and Picts, whether of Ireland or of Caledonia.

[1] Edited in 1857 by Dr. Reeves, with an immense amount of valuable information in the editor's notes.

[2] Dr. Reeves's *Adamnan*, pp. 62 and 145.

[3] Believed to be Craig-Phadric.

[4] Dr. Reeves's *Adamnan*, pp. 93, 220, 221; and Mr. Skene, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 301, 302.

The only four words that there are authorities for fixing as Pictish are now to be considered. On two of them, or rather one compound word, great stress has been laid as a principal argument for the opinion that the Picts were of the British and not of the Gaelic race of Celts. These words are Peann-Fahel. The other two words are Scollofthes and Cartoit. Of the last word, I have only seen "cartoit, a pin, in the Pictish language."[1] It may here be premised that in the following remarks, speaking of the Pictish language, the original language of the Picts in Caledonia is meant, and not any dialect in use by the mixed race established between the Roman walls; nor a British dialect, partly intruded on the Gaelic in the south and south-eastern districts of Caledonia, and which, judging by the names of places, decreased towards the northern provinces, and entirely ceased before it approached that part of Caledonia in which the northern Pictish capital was situated—viz., near the river Ness.

With regard to Peann-Fahel, which is so written in the oldest manuscripts of Bede, and fixed as the name of the place where the Roman wall of Antoninus terminated on the east coast, the place, although on the border, is not in Caledonia, the country of the Picts proper. Bede says it is called Peann-Fahel in the Pictish language. From this various writers have assumed that peann is to be considered identical with Pen.[2] This must not be taken for granted. Pen is a British Celtic word, which enters into the formation

[1] Dr. Reeves's *Adamnan*, quoting "Cormac Gloss." p. 63.

[2] Being called "Pennultun in the English tongue" is no sufficient proof in opposition to the general absence of Pen in the nomenclature of Caledonia.

of very many names of places in all parts of Britain except in Caledonia, the country of the Picts in Britain. From north to south ; from the Lothians and Dumfriesshire to the counties of Dorset and Sussex ; from the shores of Kent, Norfolk, Durham, and Haddington on the east, to those of Cornwall, Pembroke, Caernarvon, Lancaster, and Wigton on the west, Pen is a common prefix to names of places ; whilst it is all but unknown in the proper names of Caledonia and Ireland.

The word "Scollofthes" is declared by an author of the twelfth century to be the Pictish name for the "clerks of the church."[1] Attention was first called to this passage by Mr. Joseph Robertson in his *Treatise on the Scholastic Offices of the Scottish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century.*[2] The place where the incident occurred in which the word Scollofthes came to be used was at Kirkcudbright, which the writer, Reginald of Durham, calls in Pictland, although it is so far removed from Caledonia, the country of the true Picts. An examination of these words, therefore, affords no proof that the original Picts were Celts of the British branch.

To prove that the constitution of society among the Picts was to a certain extent peculiar, and that the symbols graven on the sculptured stones of Caledonia are different from those of any other country, cannot materially influence the decision as to which of the two great divisions of the Celtic race—viz., the Gaelic or British—the Picts should be

[1] This being an office of the Christian Church, cannot be considered as an original Celtic expression.

[2] Mr. Joseph Robertson, in *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v. p. 56.

assigned; for these peculiarities are not found amongst the Gaels of Ireland, the Scots of Caledonia, or the Britons of Wales and Cornwall. This seems to confine the points of primary importance in regard to the origin of the Picts to two—viz., whether there were originally such essential differences between the Picts and the Gaels, and between the Picts and Britons, as to constitute the Picts a third great division of the Celtic race?—for the language of Caledonia is admitted to have been Celtic. If this point—viz., the Picts constituting a third division—is not insisted on (and it could not be successfully maintained), it follows that the peculiarities, if not existing in the original emigrants to Albion, gradually arose or were developed in that Celtic tribe or tribes called by the Irish the Cruithne, and historically known as Picts.

Even if the preceding remarks are admitted as reasonable, it would still remain to be considered whether the peculiarities of Pictish polity, and the Caledonian hieroglyphics found in the country inhabited by the Picts of Scotland, were spontaneous devices of that people, or resulted from foreign influence and example. As regards the sculptures, the latter alternative appears most probable; and with the present limited means for forming an opinion, the Phœnicians or their colonists are the only people of whom there are reasons for believing that they had intercourse with, and may have influenced, the Celtic population of the most fertile regions of Caledonia, to which these sculptures are nearly confined.

VIII. "*There were Albannaich (Gaels, Scots) in Caledonia, and Cruithne or Cruinnich (Picts) in Ireland, before the name either of Scots or of Picts appears in history.*"

IX. "*In the northern and western parts of Caledonia the population remained more exclusively Gaelic than in the southern and eastern divisions. The Gaels on the west were occasionally increased by emigrants from a kindred race in Ireland. In the beginning of the sixth century the Scots and Gaels in the western portion of Caledonia received from Ireland an important accession, not so much by numbers as in influential leaders of the Scots, who thenceforth gradually increased their influence until they obtained supremacy, and gave their name to the country of Scotland.*"

That the Scots became a dominant tribe in Ireland, and at one period gave their name to the island, and that they kept up communication with the Scots in Caledonia, may be fully admitted. Probably the Attacotti were a kindred or Scottish tribe ;[1] but the numbers of Scots alluded to in Irish annalists as emigrants or auxiliaries to the Caledonians could have had no material influence in the wars either of resistance or aggression which were ceaselessly and sometimes successfully maintained by the inhabitants of Caledonia—Scots and Picts—against the Romans and Romanised Britons. Neither could the Scots of Ireland, with their primitive vessels,[2] have been

[1] The Attacotti, if we admit the authority of Richard of Cirencester, were a people once formidable to all Britain. See also note to previous proposition regarding the Attacotti.

[2] Curach-Corwg, or coracle-boats

at all times ready to cross the Irish Channel, and join in defending Caledonia or attacking the Roman province—even if, in defiance of all examples and histories, ancient and modern, the Irish septs had been in continual amity with each other and with the Caledonian tribes.

The confined limits of the rugged territory occupied by the Scots of Ireland in Britain is of itself sufficient evidence against the Scoto-Irish of Caledonia having been an influential body in the wars of the Caledonians against the Romans in the fourth century. Even the emigration of Scots from Ireland in A.D. 506 under the sons of Eirc, which has assumed so great a position in Scottish history, and is chronicled with considerable pomp in Irish annalists, consisted only of "three times fifty men;" while it is disputed whether the royal brothers and leaders of this company numbered five or six—the period of the arrival of these one hundred and fifty emigrants to Albion being about a century and a half after the commencement of the continual aggressions of the *Scots* and Picts upon the Romanised provinces of Britain.

The Scots from Ireland in Caledonia were neither numerous, politically important, nor entirely independent of their Irish chieftains, until under Aidan, the first ordained and inaugurated king in Scotland of that tribe called Dalriads. They had, until A.D. 575, not only a country, Dalriada, and a king in Ireland; but he also claimed authority over those of his tribe who had settled on the south-western peninsula of Cale-

made of wicker-work covered with hides. Such was the vessel that brought St. Columba and his followers to Scotland in A.D. 563.

donia. It is clear from their history even at the period, viz., A.D. 575, when Aidan's authority over these colonists was partially recognised by the original tribe in Ireland, that his subjects were not a numerous body.

It seems, therefore, reasonable to infer that the Scots—who for more than two hundred years previous to 575 are repeatedly mentioned as having formed one of the most important divisions of the Caledonian confederacy of Scots and Picts, waging continual conflict with the Romans and Britons—should not be confounded with a colony of Scots from Ireland, who crept into a remote peninsula of Caledonia at a later period ; a colony which was originally unimportant, although it became prominent afterwards, its chiefs having eventually acquired and transmitted to their posterity the united regal power, and given the name of Scotland to the Albainn of the Gaels—the Caledonia of the classic authors.

Contiguous to the country of the Dalriad Scots, which occupied the north-east part of Ireland, lay the country of the Cruithne Picts, extending more to the south. They appear to have been one of the more powerful and influential tribes, and from their name and locality offer a strong argument for the identity of the original Gaelic population in Caledonia and Hibernia—Albion and Ierne.

It does not follow because the name of Scotia, in the early historical period, was only applied to Ireland, that there were not Scots in Caledonia previous to the gradual intrusion of the Dalriad colony. Although a dominant tribe in Ireland, they may have been, I believe they were, of less

importance in North Britain than those called Caledonians and Picts.

The Picts of the classic authors—the Cruithne of the Celtic—occupied a large portion of Ireland, but never appear to have been noticed by any writers except the native annalists. The early Scots of Caledonia may have held the like subordinate position in Northern Albion that the Cruithne (Picts) did in Ireland.

The earliest notice of the Scots in Britain is by Ammianus Marcellinus, when, in A.D. 360, the Scots, in conjunction with the Picts, devastated the Roman provinces in Britain.[1] The most northerly of the Roman possessions in Britain had, previous to this date, been formed into the province of Valentia, on the extreme northern frontier of which the Romans had erected fortified lines extending between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. The Scots and Picts renewed their inroads in the years 364 and 368 ; and in these two irruptions were united with the Attacotti, another Caledonian tribe, which first makes its appearance in history at this time.

The Scots and Picts continued to harass the Roman provinces, and their inroads, apparently increasing, are noted in the years 382, 388, 396, 398, 409, 411, 416, 426, 436, and up to 445,[2] when the Romans finally departed from Britain, and left their former subjects of its southern provinces an easy prey to the northern hordes, classed under the names of Scots and Picts.

[1] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* lxxiii.

[2] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* pp. lxxiii.-lxxxii. 10, 62, 92, 93, 117, etc.

That the Scots in Britain were a prominent tribe and permanent inhabitants of Caledonia would appear from the position in which they are placed by Gildas,[1] Nennius,[2] and Bede[3]—viz., the Scots were from the north-west, or north-west and by west ; the Picts from the north (of the Roman province of Valentia). Even if history had been silent on this point, the walls built by the Romans would sufficiently indicate the direction whence their enemies were expected. Ireland lies neither west nor north-west of the northern wall ; and if it had been from Ireland that the Scottish invaders came, as it must have come by sea, there was no occasion for them to pass the defenceless coasts of richer provinces that they might face the fortified wall of the Romans, nor for the Romans to build a wall which could always be taken in reverse by their expected enemies.

X. "*In the early period to which the present investigations are limited there is no authority for admitting an important Scandinavian element in the population of Caledonia.*"

XI. "*There is no authority for admitting as historical, and no necessity for supposing, any notable migration by sea into Caledonia from the period of Cæsar's landing to the death of Severus. The great amount of population in that country which successfully resisted the Roman invaders, and perseveringly attacked the Roman*

[1] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 10. [2] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 60.
[3] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 117.

provinces in Britain, appears, by reasonable deduction from authentic history, to have been Celtic."

There does not appear any sufficient authority for the assertion, or validity in the arguments, of those writers who, with great ingenuity and enthusiasm, have endeavoured to establish a Scandinavian or Teutonic origin[1] for any of the Caledonian tribes. Had any distinct race, alien to the Celtic inhabitants of Caledonia, existed before, or established themselves during, the three first centuries of the Christian era in the country on the northern sides of the Forth and Clyde, the Romans, with their usual insidious and unscrupulous policy, would not have failed to form a league with the intrusive element before undertaking their expeditions against the Caledonians;[2] whereas we know that their various tribes were unanimous in cherishing an intense hatred and in offering a combined opposition to the Romans. Nor was this a

[1] A charter granted between A.D. 1171 and 1199 by David Earl of Huntingdon, brother of the Scottish king, to Malcolm, son of Bartholf, the ancestor of the families of the name of Leslie, is addressed to all true subjects, lay or clerical, "Francis, Anglis, Flamingis, et Scotis." Here the Teutonic elements are strongly marked, the Scandinavian entirely omitted; yet, long before the date of this charter, there were not wanting, although in a less proportion, Scandinavian ingredients in the population of Aberdeenshire. (This charter is printed in Robertson's *Antiquities of Aberdeenshire*, vol. i. p. 546, Spalding Club.)

[2] The Saxons, who afterwards formed so prominent a portion of the population of Scotland, are unknown to history until A.D. 287, when they are first mentioned by Eutropius as infesting the coasts of Belgica and Armorica. It is nearly a hundred years before the Saxons are again mentioned, and then by Ammianus Marcellinus, as, along with Picts, Scots, and Attacots, vexing the Britons by unceasing attacks. But it is to the eleventh century, and the reign of Malcolm Canmore, that Scotland owes that quiet influx of Saxon settlers that has sometimes been called "the Saxon Conquest."

transient enthusiasm, for the same resolute opposition to aggression on their own territories, and vindictive retaliation on the Roman districts, was continued by the Caledonians during the whole period of the Roman occupation of South Britain. So enduring and remarkable an accordance in feeling and action amongst many Celtic tribes can only be accounted for by supposing them to have been directed by some unceasing and general controlling power. The cruel superstition, subtle policy, and paramount authority of the Druids, stimulated by Roman persecution, suggests the influence of that priesthood as the most probable explanation of such unwonted unanimity and perseverance in the various Celtic tribes of Caledonia.

The repeated revolts of different tribes in South Britain, as the Iceni, Ordovices, Silures, etc., who rose against their oppressors, and the severities inflicted by the Romans consequent on the re-establishment of their authority, will sufficiently account for Caledonia being crowded by exiled Britons. For example, in the case of the Brigantes, who occupied the country on the north of the Mersey and Humber, it is only reasonable to presume that when vanquished they did not wait to be exterminated, although that is said to have been their fate, but retired from their rugged and forest-clad region across a nominal boundary, along with the Caledonians, with whom they had leagued in attacks upon their southern neighbours and foreign masters.[1] Thereafter, as restless and land-

[1] Whilst A. Didius-Gallus was Propraetor in Britain, between A.D. 50 and 58, the Romans, appearing as the protectors of Cartismandua, the infamous queen of the Brigantes, defeated that people under the command of

less exiles, guided by a proscribed priesthood, it is not difficult to account for their hostility to former oppressors or to settlers on lands of which they had been dispossessed.[1]

The Brigantes, it is probable from their position, were of the oldest Celtic race,[2] and this is supported by one of the tribes in Ireland, mentioned by Ptolemy, being of the same name. Their resistance to the Romans in earlier periods, and their insurrections afterwards in support of the northern assailants of the Romans, may also be deemed corroborative of the identity of the Brigantes with the Caledonians, and of their being of the Gaelic branch. Probably, although such was the original tribe that occupied the territory in which our earliest histories place the Brigantes, there is proof that they were intermixed and in communion with the tribes of the Celtic

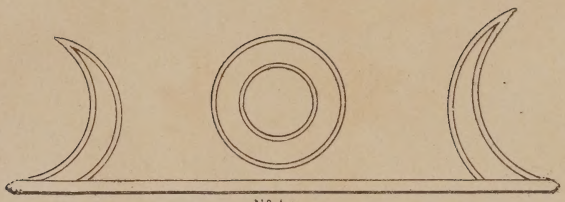
their chief Venusius, the husband of Cartismandua.—*Annals of Tacitus*, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxvii. But the final defeat and dispossession of the Brigantes by the Romans is mentioned by Pausanias (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* l.), and appears to have occurred when the Brigantes joined the Caledonians, who had made an irruption into the Roman province. These northern confederates were repelled by the Propraetor Lollius Urbicus soon after the accession of the Emperor Antoninus Pius in A.D. 138.

What was understood by the destruction of a people such as the Brigantes is explained by a passage in the *Annals of Tacitus* (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxvii.), viz., that on the insurrection and pertinacious resistance of the Silures against the Romans, the Roman governor Ostorius declared "that he would destroy the very name of the Silures out of Britain, in the same way as had been done formerly with the Sigambri, who had been transported to Gaul." This expression, having reached the devoted tribe, is said to have stimulated their fiercest passions.

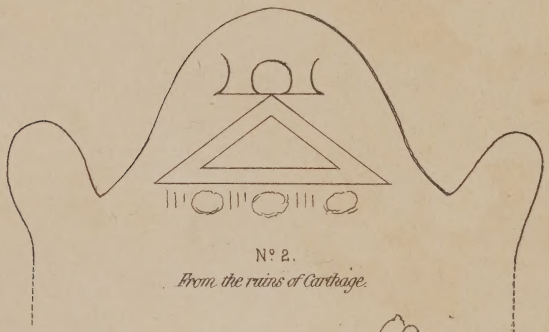
[1] Pinkerton, in his *Enquiry into the Early History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 42 of the edition of 1814, says, in his usual style, "Pausanias seems, in total ignorance of Britain, to call the Maeatae Brigantes." In part at least the Maeatae probably were Brigantes.

[2] The names of places on the slopes of the Alps and other parts of Western Europe render it probable that this tribe were early inhabitants of these localities.

British, when their name is first mentioned. This, however, is what might be expected, if the arrival of the Gaelic branch preceded, and eventually and gradually gave place to that later migration, the British Celts.

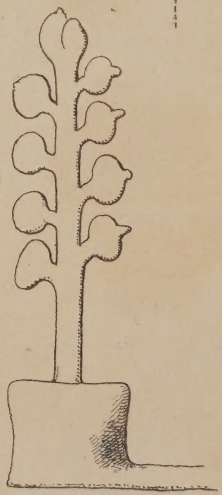


No 1.
From the ruins of Carthage.



No 2.
From the ruins of Carthage.

From a Mosaic Pavement, Carthage.



From a Sculptured Stone at Eassie, Forfarshire.

CHAPTER III.

PHŒNICIANS—THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE BRITONS AND CALEDONIANS.

Phœnicians in Britain the earliest and for many ages the only Traders from the East to Britain—Tarshish—Similarity of Phœnician and British objects of Worship—Baal and Ashtoreth—Bel or Bal in Phœnician and British Names—Funeral Wail of the Celts—Chariots of the Britons—Phœnicians prevent the knowledge of Britain and the route to it—The Celtic Maritime States of Gaul—The Fleet of the Veneti, and its superior mode of construction, probably the result of Phœnician influence—Temple of Saturn at Cadiz—Its Priests—Their Dress similar to that of the Druids—Phœnician Monuments similar to the primitive Monuments of Britain—Superstitions in Sardinia, derived from the Phœnicians, similar to some in Britain—The Nuraghés of Sardinia, and Picts' Houses of Caledonia.

ALTHOUGH the Celtic may not have been the first nor the exclusive race in Britain, they are the earliest known to history. But there are reasons for believing that the Phœnicians—under which name are here included their colonists in Africa and Europe, including Carthaginians and their colonies—may, to a limited extent, be an element in the early population of Britain, and in a more considerable degree have influenced the manners and customs of its Celtic inhabitants; also, that this was the result, not only of commercial intercourse, but that the Phœnicians mixed with the pre-occupants of the soil, and are an ingredient in British ancestry. This

would seem highly probable, even if there were no proofs in support of such a position. Niebuhr, in his *Ethnology*,[1] remarks the striking facility with which the Phœnicians became amalgamated with foreign nations; and Turner, in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*,[2] includes the Phœnicians along with the Kimmerians and Keltoi as the earliest inhabitants of Britain of whom any authentic circumstances can be collected.[3]

The Phœnicians were the earliest and for ages the only people who knew the route by sea from the confines of Asia to the western extremities of Europe. They alone, in the early dawn of history, and probably for ages before, braved the terrors, real and imaginary, that awaited the mariner who might venture to pass beyond the Pillars of Hercules; and according to Strabo, the Phœnicians possessed the better part of Africa, and were also settled in Spain before the age of Homer; and so continued until their dominion was finally overthrown by the Romans.

It cannot be supposed that a maritime people of such pre-eminent enterprise as the Phœnicians, when they reached the sacred promontory, the westernmost point of Europe, would long remain ignorant of the contiguous coasts of Gaul, and the mineral wealth of the British Islands. We know it was not so; and that from these countries the Phœnicians supplied tin to the Greeks and other nations of Eastern Europe and Western Asia. It has been suggested,[4] from the

[1] Niebuhr's *Ethnology*, translated by Schmitz, vol. ii. p. 288.

[2] Quarto, 1807, p. 14.

[3] See also Heeren on the *Politics and Trade of the Carthaginians*, Oxford, 1823, vol. i. p. 171.

[4] By Kenrick in his *Phœnicia*, 1855, p. 118.

mention of Tarshish in the tenth book of Genesis, and of the gem Tarsis in Exodus,[1] that the Phœnicians traded to Tartessus (*i.e.* Andalusia) before the period when the first books of Moses were written. Gadeira (Cadiz) was not the earliest Phœnician settlement in Spain ; yet there are historical data for fixing the foundation of that colony at least eleven hundred years B.C.[2] Strabo, in another place from that already quoted, makes the Tyrians precede an immigration of Kelts into Iberia or Spain. The same author says that Carthage, the settlements in Spain, and *beyond the Pillars*, proved so successful to the Phœnicians that even to the present day they occupy the best parts of the continent of Europe and *the neighbouring islands*. From Polybius as well as Strabo we know that the Phœnicians possessed the whole northern coast of Africa. Pliny, in his *Natural History*, quotes M. Varro when he mentions Iberians, Persians, Phœnicians,

[1] Chap. xxviii. v. 20. From 2 Chronicles, chap. xxv. 36, it would appear that there was a place called Tarshish on the eastern coast of Africa, or beyond it to the eastward, the name being probably given by the Phœnicians. But the Tarshish from which the wealth of that people was derived was certainly in Spain. Of a Tarshish other than that in Europe late notices will be found in *Lares and Penates*, by W. B. Barker, pp. 12, 13 ; and in *Ceylon*, by Sir J. E. Tennent, vol. ii. pp. 99, 100, 101, 102. In the preface to Winslow's *New Tamil Dictionary* we find that "the names by which the ivory, apes, and peacocks conveyed by Solomon's ships of Tarshish were known, are the same with those still used in Tamil ; seeming to imply that the traders visited Ceylon or India, and obtained with these novelties their Tamil names—Dante, Kapi, and Togai —as found in the Hebrew Bible."

Solomon's ships, however, did not bring tin ; that in early ages came from the West, not from the East. On that subject I think a recent work, *The Cassiterides*, by George Smith, LL.D., is full and satisfactory. It confirms the opinion I had previously formed, and renders unnecessary many of the arguments I had formerly advanced.

[2] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 125.

Celts, and Carthaginians, as having spread themselves over Spain.

As the young men of the Gauls who required to be perfected in the Druid mysteries were sent to complete their education in Britain, it follows that the system must have been more perfect in that island. This can easily be accounted for, if we regard the religion of the Druids as being in many respects similar to that of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, in which case they would doubtless exercise great influence over the votaries of a kindred worship, to whom in all branches of knowledge they were superior. A few circumstances, in proof of similarity of the worship of the Phœnicians and the ancient Britons, may here be introduced in addition to those which are referred to under the heads of Stone Worship, The Menhir, Baal, Beltane, and in describing many of the figures found on the sculptured stones of Scotland.

Rhodes, as might be expected from its position, was visited and possessed by the Phœnicians at a very early period, long before the Trojan war.[1] The sun, in his physical character of Helios, was the chief deity of Rhodes, and in later times was represented by the Colossus of Rhodes. It also appears that the inhabitants of that island were famous for astrology and navigation ; that they were supposed to possess the power of raising tempests and of transforming themselves into the form of other animals ; moreover, that they anxiously kept secret the knowledge they possessed.[2] It will be remarked

[1] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 78.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, b. v. chap. 3 ; Lucan's *Pharsalia*, b. v.

that many of these qualities were attributed to the Druids of Gaul and Britain.

A similarity in the practices of the Druids to those of the Patriarchs was long since pointed out,[1] and there is no want of authorities to prove how generally the planetary worship prevailed in the old world. But with regard to the Phœnicians, it will be sufficient to quote the last and most comprehensive writer on their country :[2] "Baal and Ashtoreth, the two chief divinities of Phœnicia, were unquestionably the sun and moon, and the minor deities appear either to have been the same heavenly bodies, or at least to have represented objects of astral worship."[3] The fragments that have been preserved regarding the religion of the Phœnicians show that their theology "had its real origin in the personification of the elements and the worship of the heavenly bodies."[4] "The Apollo of the Phœnician colonies at Utica and Carthage was probably the solar god.[5] Bel or Baal was also identified with the planet Saturn, which, as the highest of the series, presided over the rest, and was therefore their Lord or Baal."[6] The richest and most superb edifice in Carthage was the Temple of Apollo,[7] and probably, as in Rhodes, in his original character, viz., representing the sun. Heliogabulus,

[1] *Universal Ancient History*, 1748, vol. xviii. p. 549, *et seq.*, and works there quoted.

[2] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*.

[3] *Ib.* p. 298. [4] *Ib.* p. 295.

[5] We are told by Lucan, in the fifth book of his *Pharsalia*, that Phœbus was the fate-foretelling deity of Delphi, and also had often led to new abodes a population which had left entire cities, such as the Tyrians.

[6] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 299, and authorities quoted by him.

[7] Diodorus S., b. xvii., and *Universal Ancient History*, vol. xvii. p. 278.

the Roman emperor, caused the image of Astarte, the moon, to be brought from Carthage, and espoused to the conical stone, the representative of the sun, which he had brought from Phœnicia.[1]

In Britain, coins of Greek cities on the coasts of Syria or Asia Minor, and of the fourth and fifth centuries B.C., have been discovered in strata apparently older than the Roman period; and two altars, one dedicated to the Syrian Astarte, the other to the Tyrian Hercules, have been found in the north of England. Yet, as both the coins and altars were found at places—viz., Exeter and Corbridge—once occupied by the Romans, their auxiliaries might have brought the coins, and certainly erected the altars.[2]

Pinkerton has said that "Druidism was palpably Phœnician;"[3] and Sammes remarks, "that the customs, religion, idols, offices, and dignities of the ancient Britons are all clearly Phœnician."[4] Such decided opinions, without more support than these authors have given in the evidence which they advance, are not calculated to increase the number of their followers. Yet the more that the subject is examined, the stronger do the reasons appear for considering that the religion of the Britons, as well as the form of their fanes and primitive monuments, greatly resembled those of the early Phœnicians. This similarity, however, does not prove that Britain derived

[1] Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, chap. vi.

[2] Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, pp. 202, 203; and Wright, *Ancient Inhabitants of Britain*, pp. 269, 270, 271.

[3] *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, vol. i. 17.

[4] *Brittan. Antiqua*, preface, 1676, fol.

its gods or modelled its fanes entirely from Phœnician example, but renders it probable that to both countries some objects of worship, and forms of Cyclopean monuments, had descended from a common source.

It would be natural to conclude that a people so intelligent as the Phœnicians greatly influenced a nation comparatively rude, such as the Britons, with whom the Phœnicians held a profitable intercourse for ages before Britain was accessible or even known to the rest of the world. But on this point we are not altogether left to conjecture, for Diodorus Siculus states that the inhabitants of the promontory of Balerium (Cornwall) are more civilised and courteous to strangers than those who live in other parts of the island. He then refers to the skill with which they procure and prepare the tin-ore, and carry it to the place of export in carts and waggons. When transferred by merchants to the opposite coast, the ore was conveyed to Marseilles on pack-horses. This, with Cæsar's notice of roads in Britain, and his description of the war-chariots and training of the British charioteers, would incline us to suppose that in roads, as well as in carriages and Druid mysteries, the Britons were superior to their brethren in Gaul. If, therefore, it is admitted that the Celts passed from Gaul into Britain, and that afterwards religion and the arts became more developed in the last-settled and less accessible country, it seems a rational conclusion that the impulse to these improvements, like the greater civilisation of the inhabitants in the tin district, was received from the people with whom they had continued communication by sea.

The prefix or suffix of Bel or Bal, used in Phœnician and Carthaginian names, is also found in the names of the earliest British kings preserved in history—viz., Cassibellaunus, Cinnobellinus, and Mynocinobellinus—and may be taken as an evidence of partial union of the Punic with the British people, or of Phœnician influence on British institutions. In two ancient authors the names Cassibelan and Cunobeline are both called simply Belinus. By Henry of Huntingdon a brother of the king Cassibelanus is called Belinus.[1] Nennius calls the king Belinus.[2]

The Romans had their *conclamatio*, and most other nations peculiar modes of lamentation, on the occasion of death or at funeral ceremonies; and it seems not a little extraordinary that the funeral wail for the Phœnician princess Dido, mentioned by Virgil, may still be heard at the funeral of poor Celts in the centre and west of Ireland. The ululatus of Virgil, the hululu of the Greek, may be heard repeated as ululu hululu in wild but most musical chaunts at funerals in Leinster and Connaught.[3]

The waggons by which the Britons transported the tin-ore to the mart where it was to be disposed of are mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, and Cæsar speaks with admiration of the number of the war-chariots and the skill of the British charioteers. From Tacitus and Dion we learn that chariots were also part

[1] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 696.

[2] *Ib.* p. 59.

[3] On the coronach (*i.e.* funeral wail) Pennant has made interesting remarks, and mentions some of the curious coincidences in the funeral laments and ceremonies of the Irish with what is attributed to the mother of Euryalus, etc. etc. (Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 113, 114, 115, edit. 1790.)

of the military equipment of the Caledonian army. Even if the roads in Britain had not been mentioned particularly by Cæsar, the above facts would have been sufficient to determine that such existed. As these circumstances show no inconsiderable amount of civilisation amongst the inhabitants of Britain previous to the commencement of the Christian era and the first landing of the Romans, they also suggest inquiry on two points, viz., from whence were obtained the models of these chariots, and the horse-equipments necessary in performing the dexterous evolutions which were practised by the British charioteers? or by whom were the native artificers taught the construction of the vehicles and the manufacture of the necessary appliances? Unless the natives had preserved a knowledge, acquired previous to their arrival in Britain, of the necessary arts, the only people who were likely to have been their instructors were the Phœnicians; and even in the days of Joshua war-chariots formed part of the equipment of the Philistine armies. In Cæsar's account of the siege of Avaricum he says his mines were countermined, and the mound skilfully undermined, by the Gauls, who knew and practised every description of mining operations. From the continued communication between the Britons and the Gauls we may be assured—and the produce of tin from Cornwall proves—that the Britons were equally expert as miners, although this is nowhere mentioned.

The Phœnician race possessed the whole north coast of Africa, from the Philænian altars, which are by the great Syrtis, to the straits of the Pillars of Hercules—a distance of

six hundred leagues,[1] and in Europe had extended their possessions to the Pyrenæan mountains, the farther extremity of Spain, bounding on Gaul. From their valuable colonies and populous towns in Spain the Phœnicians carried on their traffic with the British isles.[2] The value of that trade may be inferred from the jealousy with which the Phœnicians not only guarded all approach from the Mediterranean to the tin-islands, but also obscured all correct knowledge of the country itself, the route by which it was approached, or the people by whom it was inhabited. In the treaty with the Carthaginians in the fourth century B.C. the Romans became bound not to advance their ships beyond Tarseius (Andalusia). The following anecdote, preserved by Strabo,[3] shows the intensity of this monopolising policy on the part of the Phœnicians :—One of their shipmasters, seeing that his vessel was dogged by another that belonged to the Romans, purposely ran his own vessel upon a shoal, and thus caused the entire destruction of both. The Phœnician mariner having saved his life by means of a fragment of the wreck, received from his country the value of

[1] Polybius, book iii. In Syria and Palestine, as well as on the Barbary coast, the inhabitants had places for the concealment of corn. (King's *Monumenta Antiqua*, pp. 44-55. For such places in Britain, see Diodorus Siculus. For a notice of similar subterraneous apartments in Caledonia, see in this work the chapter on Weems.)

[2] Strabo, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. vi. As from Sallust we learn incidentally that the trade of the Phœnicians was carried on as far as thirty days' sail to the south along the west coast of Africa, it is not reasonable to suppose that these enterprising navigators and traders would neglect to persevere along the coast of Europe continuous from the havens of the most valuable trading settlements which they possessed. Direct evidence in this case supports reasonable deduction, and proves, on the contrary, that the Phœnicians drew abundant mineral wealth from Britain, as well as less valuable articles of trade.

[3] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. vii.

the cargo which he had sacrificed. In another place, Strabo, quoting Eratosthenes, says that the Carthaginians drown any strangers who sail past on their voyage to Sardinia or the Pillars (of Hercules); hence much of what is related of the parts towards the west is discredited.

The settlements of the Phœnicians in Gaul are less distinctly mentioned, although their influence on the coasts of the Atlantic are clearly perceptible in the maritime adventure of the people and the superior construction of their ships. The two principal places of departure in passing from the west coasts of Europe to Britain, at the commencement of the Christian era, were the mouths of the rivers Garonne and Loire,[1]—the country round the latter being occupied by the Namneti, the next Celtic tribe to the Veneti, who were the most powerful and experienced of the maritime states of Celtic Armorica, and had a great number of large ships, with which they were accustomed to sail to Britain.[2] Their vessels were built of oak planks, not placed in immediate contact with each other, but having interstices between that were caulked with sea-weed. The benches of these ships were a foot in breadth, and were fastened by iron spikes the thickness of a man's thumb. The anchors were secured by chain-cables of iron. The prows and poops were higher than the turrets that had been erected on the decks of the Roman vessels;[3] and in the naval action on the coast of Armorica

[1] Strabo, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. vi.

[2] Cæsar, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. xxvii. From Strabo, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. vi., it might be inferred that it was to preserve this commerce that the Veneti fought the naval action with Cæsar's fleet.

[3] Cæsar, b. iii. chap. xiii. xiv.; Strabo, b. iv. chap. iv. s. 1.

the Veneti and their allies had two hundred and twenty ships. To account for the possession of so numerous a fleet—so remarkable also in the size and equipment of the ships—it seems necessary to admit the influence of Phœnician art and science on the people of Armorica, or to come to the conclusion that they possessed an innate civilisation superior to what has ever been yet conceded to the Celts in Western Europe prior to the conquest of Gaul and South Britain by the Roman armies.

The Veneti had a senate, the whole of the members of which were put to death by Cæsar's orders.[1] The Pictish king had also a senate.[2] The Ædui of Gaul had a senate. From these three senates of Celtic tribes being mentioned, we may conclude that a senate was part of the organisation of Celtic nations.

It will also be remarked that these great ships of the Veneti were built with interstices between their planks, and were caulked. The caulkers of the Tyrian ships are mentioned in Ezekiel xxvii. 9. If we compare these ships of the Veneti with the coracles of the Celts, in which, as late as the sixth century of our era, the voyage of St. Columba and his twelve followers was made from Ireland to Scotland, we can hardly doubt that Phœnician intelligence directed the formation of the Venetian vessels, and that the spirit of Phœnician monopoly may have influenced the combination of the maritime nations of Gaul against Cæsar.

[1] *Cæsar*, b. iii. chap. xvi.

[2] Reeves' Adamnan's *Vita St. Columbæ*, 4to, 1857, b. ii. chap. 35, pp. 151-2.

The temple of Saturn at Gadir (Cadiz) was believed to be coeval with the establishment of the Tyrian colony at that place, or about 1200 B.C. It is said by a Roman author who wrote about the middle of the first century of our era,[1] that in this temple was retained to the latest times the primitive mode of Phœnician worship. There was no image of the god, but an ever-burning fire was maintained, and the priests who attended were barefooted and clad in linen.[2] The sacred fires and the dress of the priests were characteristics also of the Druids of Britain,[3] and both the Phœnician and Druid priesthood appear to have practised tonsure.

In another chapter will be found notices of Cyclopean monuments similar to the Celtic, extending at intervals from Phœnicia, on the northern shores of Africa, to the Straits of Gibraltar, and from these through Spain and Gaul to the British Islands. Under the head of "Inscriptions," also, some in Phœnician characters are traced in the same route with certainty to Gaul. Various ceremonies still practised in Sardinia, and which are believed to have descended to the present race in that island from their Phœnician ancestors, have an extraordinary resemblance to superstitious practices that were retained until a very recent period in Scotland, and are noticed under the heads of Baal and Beltane.

In Sardinia, after certain ceremonies performed in connection with great fires lighted on St. John's Eve, the people go

[1] Silius Italicus.

[2] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 157, and authorities there quoted.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. History*, b. xvi. chap. 95.

in procession to a church, near which they seat themselves in a circle, and feast on eggs fried with herbs. This is said to be connected with the Phallic worship and rites of Hermes, derived from the Phœnicians.[1] In the first days of spring the Sardinians have a practice of lighting fires in their squares and at cross-roads; then, as the flames begin to ascend, children leap through so rapidly as to escape burning. This, says Father Bresciani, is initiation through fire into the rites of Moloch. But the people are not aware of the heathen origin of these rites, which are believed to have descended to the present inhabitants from their Phœnician ancestors.[2]

In the chapter which treats of the sculptured stones of Scotland will be found arguments in favour of some of the exports from Britain being of a nature likely to tempt the Phœnician trader to visit the harbours that lay nearest to the Caledonian forest. Of the imports, brass, bronze (mentioned by Cæsar), and the articles characterised by Strabo as mean merchandise (viz., bracelets, necklaces, amber, glass,[3] etc.), certainly found their way to the inhabitants of the north-eastern districts of Scotland. This is proved by continual discoveries of these articles in sepulchral tumuli of a very early period.

The Nuraghés of Sardinia have considerable resemblance in details, as well as in general appearance, to the uncemented dome-shaped buildings variously called in Scotland Duns, Burghs, and Picts' houses, and in Ireland clochans, which,

[1] Forester's *Sardinia*, p. 334. [2] *Ibid.* p. 342.
[3] Strabo, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. vii.

with some similar beehive-shaped houses in the Hebrides, are evidently modelled from the same original as the Picts' houses. One property the Nuraghés and Picts' houses possess in common, that their origin or erection is in no way elucidated by authentic history or rational tradition. This is the more remarkable as regards the Nuraghés when the position and history of Sardinia is considered, and that the remains of three thousand of these structures are reckoned in that island in various stages of decay, and some in good preservation.[1]

Under the head of "Customs and Superstitions common to the inhabitants of Asia and Britain," are detailed particulars of the belief in the miraculous formation by snakes of "the Serpent Gem." That superstition still lingers amongst the Celts of Cornwall and Scotland, and was lately heard by a modern traveller from an old native crone amidst the ruins of Tadmor.

In conclusion, the opinion I have formed on this subject is, that the Phœnicians had a more extended and permanent influence on the population of Britain, even of Caledonia, than has lately been asserted, or has at any time been conceded.

[1] In La Marmora's great work and its illustrative plates, the Nuraghés are shown of various kinds, and so fully, that it is easier to know their peculiarities than those of the Picts' houses of Scotland. In Tyndale's *Sardinia*, and Forester's *Corsica and Sardinia*, the Nuraghés are carefully described. See also the chapter on "Strongholds and Dwellings of the Celts" in this work.

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION OF THE EARLY INHABITANTS OF BRITAIN AND CALEDONIA.

The Druidical Religion general over Britain—Druids—Their Power and Organisation—Divitiacus the Druid—Tenets of the Druids—Mystery and Cruelty—Druid Sacrifices—Dress of the Druids—Tonsure of Druids and Phœnician Priests—Deisiol—The Misletoe, Salago, and Vervain—Serpent's Gem or Druid Beads—Superstitions concerning them of great Antiquity—Witchcraft a continuation of Heathenism—Sacrifice of one Man to Redeem the Life of another—Famous Trial in 1590 consequent on this Belief—Transferring Pain or Disease from a Human Being to a Dog or Cat—Trials consequent on this and other Superstitious Practices—Cruel Sacrifices, continued in the Present Century, of one Animal to Redeem the remainder of the Herd—The Hare, the Cock, and the Goose forbidden as Food to ancient Inhabitants of Britain—Existing Superstitions concerning these Animals—Cocks now or lately sacrificed in Britain—Druidesses were believed to have the Power of transforming themselves into the form of various Animals, had Power over the Winds, could foretell Events, and cure Diseases—The same Powers attributed to the Witches, the Gaelic Ban Druidh—Obscene heathen Practices in Brittany—Imprecations in certain Christian Churches and Wells against Enemies—Gods of the Celts—Christianity introduced, but Paganism not discarded—Annait a heathen Object of Worship—Temples of Annait—Worship of Annait in Persia, India, and Carthage.

THE religion of the early inhabitants of Britain is of course a subject of paramount importance in any inquiry regarding the primitive monuments and hieroglyphics of Caledonia. Unless, however, the extract from Hecatæus, elsewhere

mentioned,[1] may be taken as applicable to Britain, and to prove the worship of a deity called by that author Apollo, the earliest notice of the religion of the Britons is to be found in Cæsar. At the period of his invasion in the first century B.C. the Druidical system was in full force, and it so continued until the Romans took Mona (Anglesea) in the year A.D. 61. From that time it probably declined in South Britain, and for the same reason became more intense in Caledonia. Prohibited and persecuted in Gaul and South Britain, it may naturally be concluded that the Druids retired to Caledonia to maintain their religion and stimulate the hatred of the unconquered portion of the Britons against the Romans.

The Emperor Tiberius attempted to put down the Druids of Gaul.[2] But his edicts to that effect, although they may have increased, could not have diminished the power of the Druids in Ireland or Caledonia, and were only partially successful in Gaul,[3] where the worst practices of the Druids prevailed hundreds of years after the edicts of Tiberius and Claudius. The religion of the Britons, we are distinctly told, was the Druidical in its most perfect form. It is therefore for those who assert that the Druid religion did not prevail

[1] Under the head of "Notices of Britain by Ancient Authors."

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* b. xxx. ; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. ix. ; also b. xxix.

[3] "Under Augustus and Tiberius, the Druid religion was prohibited in Rome, and Claudius endeavoured to effect its destruction in Gaul. Yet in the succeeding Emperors' reign there were some of them left, as appears by Lampridius and Vopiscus mentioning them in their lives ; and long since that, Procopius, writing under Justinian, about 500 years after Christ, affirms that then the Gauls used sacrifices of human flesh, which was a part of Druidian doctrine." (Selden's *Notes to Drayton's Polyolbion*, p. 154. See also the articles "Aper" and "Diocletian" in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*).

over the whole population to prove their case. But as regards Caledonia certainly, and over all Britain in a modified degree, evidence is to be found not only to confirm the direct testimony of Cæsar and Tacitus, which by itself might be deemed sufficient, but also to establish the fact that the Druidical was the religion of the inhabitants of Britain at the period of the Roman invasion, and in Caledonia continued to be so until the introduction of Christianity.[1]

In the chapters of the Life of Agricola, in which Britain and its inhabitants are described by Tacitus, Caledonia and the Caledonians are particularly mentioned, and their solemn rites and sacrifices are noticed. Writing of the Britons generally, he says that the Gauls and Britons have the same religious rites and the same superstition, and the two languages differ but little. The same historian mentions the ferocity of the unconquered part of the British nations—that is, the Caledonians—whom Agricola defeated by land, and whose country he circumnavigated with his fleet. The intimate knowledge that he must have acquired of the Caledonians in his various campaigns assures us that had the religion, sacrifices, and the language of the Caledonians been different from those of the other Britons, Tacitus would not have failed to learn and record the fact. Druids and Druidesses of the Celts and Gauls are mentioned in the third century, as connected with events in the lives of Aurelian and Diocletian. They are mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus

[1] We have the authority of Cæsar and Tacitus for the religion of Britain and Gaul being the same—the Druidism of Britain being the most perfect.

and Ausonius in the fourth century, and their practices are noticed in the sixth century by Procopius. The history of the Druids since the Christian era is thus epitomised by Gibbon :—" Under the specious pretext of abolishing human sacrifices, the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius suppressed the dangerous power of the Druids ; but the priests themselves, their gods, and their altars subsisted in peaceful obscurity till the final destruction of paganism."[1]

The Druids were not only the priests of the Celtic race in Gaul and in Britain, but also exercised judicial powers, and wielded such unbounded influence that, unless where they were denounced by the Romans, and the people of the country were under the control and protection of their conquerors, no contemporary superstition could have existed. In Caledonia the Romans are known to have left no more abiding memorials of their earlier victories and later hostile processions through the eastern half of Scotland than an intense hatred of themselves and their British allies.

The various septs in Caledonia, when they formed a league to resist the Romans under Agricola, held public conventions, with solemn rites and sacrifices ; and when St. Columba commenced his mission, and Christianity was introduced, it was in the face of a Pagan religion full of ceremonies, and possessing an establishment of priests. This we learn from the biographer and successor of St. Columba —St. Adamnan—who not only had the records of the monastery to refer to, but listened to the details of the works

[1] Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, chap. ii.

of his predecessor from those who had been eye-witnesses of some of the miracles performed by St. Columba. Among other acts recorded of him, it is mentioned that he raised the dead, controlled the winds, changed water into wine, brought rain in time of drought, and caused a fountain to flow from a rock; that his prayers brought victory to kings, and his maledictions discomfiture to enemies. St. Columba also drove out from Ireland a remnant of demons who had evaded St. Patrick, and remained in Donegal when their brethren were expelled from the Island of Saints. Both St. Patrick and St. Columba made use of their bells in overcoming the demons.[1] When to this is added that he had the gift of prophecy and held communion with angels, we need not wonder that the Christian saint confounded the Pagan *magicians* in Caledonia. He also restored to health the infidel *magician* Broichan, who had been governor to the Pictish king. Pliny says the magicians of the Celts were by them called Druids.[2] A magician is still in Gaelic called Druidh; the same word is used for a sorcerer. Ban Druidth is a sorceress or witch.[3] Drycrocft, the Anglo-Saxon expression for witchcraft, is derived from the Celtic Draoi, magic; Draoidheadh, magician.[4]

[1] Reeves, *Vita St. Columbæ*, p. 206.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. History*, b. xvi. chap. xcv.

[3] Druidheacheachd—magic, witchcraft.—Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary*, and *Highland Society's Dictionary*.

[4] Thorpe's glossary attached to the *Ancient Laws of England*. See also *Adamnani Vita St. Columbæ*, by Dr. Reeves, pp. 47, 73, 149, particularly note commencing in p. 73—"*Magi* is the Latin word always used in the acts of the Irish saints as equivalent to the vernacular term ᵭpaoıꞇe, *Druids*, or ᵭpuiᵭ, as in earlier compositions. In an Irish

These remarks refer more particularly to Caledonia, as its inhabitants had not been subjected to the Romans, and were less liable than the Britons of the south to the objection that the population contained an intrusive element not of the Celtic race. Besides these reasons, the monuments and sculptures, which are more immediately the object of inquiry, being situated in that part of Britain, might of itself be a sufficient explanation. Yet the primitive memorials, practices, and superstitions that survived the introduction of Christianity into Britain, were in all parts of the island so similar, that there can be little doubt of a general identity in the forms of Paganism that prevailed in South and in North Britain; and that the Druids, acknowledged to have the sole power in all matters connected with religion, possessed in fact nearly unlimited control over all other departments. It is therefore of great consequence to ascertain, as far as possible, the characteristics of the Druids, and the religion and general system of which they were the directors.

The Druids.[1]

Although not essential, it is still of some importance to the subject under examination, to inquire how the Celtic

MS. at Wurtzburg of St. Paul's Epistles, 2 Tim. iii. 8, Jannes and Jambres are called Egyptian Druids, and in an ancient hymn attributed to St. Columba an expression in the Gaelic is equivalent to *Christ is my Druid*.

[1] It may be worthy of consideration whether the Gaelic word carnach, used for a Druid and for a priest, is not connected with the conical heaps of stones on which carn-fires were lighted, and whether the word *Druid*, used in Gaelic for circle, may not be derived from the circular fanes that were occupied, if not erected, by the Druids.

priesthood received the name of Druids. The common opinion that it was derived from the oak is strongly supported by the name of that tree,[1] not only in the Celtic dialects, but also in the Greek, Persian, and Sanscrit languages. By the Druids the oak was considered peculiarly sacred. It was an object of their worship—the living representative of a deity. Groves of oak shaded their blood-stained altars and witnessed their mysterious rites. Boughs of oak were employed in all their religious ceremonies; and its leaves, either as ornaments or emblems, were worn by the Druids.[2] Some authorities combat the arguments in favour of the name Druid being derived from the oak, and maintain that it is from Draoi, magic. May not Draoi itself have a common origin with the name of the oak in Celtic, Sanscrit, Persian, and Greek? The word Druid is in early ecclesiastical writers always translated magician.[3]

The misletoe, when found growing on the oak, was cut with great ceremony, and accompanied by sacrifices offered by the Druids.[4] But even when found on other trees the

[1] An oak-tree is in Welsh and Armorican *derw*, in Irish *dair*, in Gaelic *darach*, *darrah*, in Greek *drus*. In Sanskrit a tree is *druh*, in Persian *dirakht*. The name given to the Druids by Diodorus Siculus, b. v., is Saronidæ, which confirms the derivation of Druid from the oak. For Pliny, b. iv., says the Saronic Gulf, encircled with groves of oak, derived its name from the ancient Greek name of that tree. Σαρονιδες is given in Hesychius, *Lexicon*, Batav. 1766, no. 1157, as signifying oaks in the ancient Greek language.—Selden's *Polyolbion*, fol. 1622, p. 151.

[2] Pliny, in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* civ.

[3] Many of the forms of derivation of the word Druid are examined in the "*Discours sur Religion Gauloise*, Pr. M. de Chiniac de la Basti de du Claux," a Paris, 1769, pp. 9, 10.

[4] Pliny, in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* civ. The misletoe has been found on oaks in Anglesea, Frampton-on-Severn, Ledbury Park, near Eastnor Castle, St. Dials, Monmouth, and Godalming in Surrey.

misletoe was still an important article in the mysterious rites of the Celtic priesthood ; and it was alleged that, as its blossoms appear at the summer and its berries reach maturity at the winter solstice, the plant thus marked the two great seasons of Druid festival. To the other proofs of the descent of witchcraft from Druidism may be added the modern superstition that a piece of misletoe hung round the neck effectually prevents the machinations of witches.

The Druids in Ireland at the time of St. Patrick[1]—viz., the middle of the fifth century—and the Druids in Scotland at the period of St. Columba's[2] visit, a century later, are repeatedly mentioned in the lives of these saints. From such records we also discover practices of the heathen priesthood which are afterwards referred to, as they may still be traced in the modern superstitions of Scotland.

The Druids were exempted from military service and the payment of taxes. They were the instructors of youth, the arbitrators in civil disputes, and the judges in criminal trials. They were the sole interpreters of religion ; the directors of sacred rites and all religious sacrifices, particularly in the immolation of human victims.[3] These appear to have been their acknowledged powers and privileges, to which it is evident all other authorities must have been subordinate.

There is no distinct authority for considering the Druids to have been continued by family descent as priests of the Celtic sacrifices and to have been a separate caste. Still, as

[1] Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick*.

[2] Dr. Reeves' (Adamnan's) *St. Columba*.

[3] C. J. Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxii. xxxiii. cii. civ. cv.

the bards and musicians, poets and harpers,[1] were contemporary officials with the Druids, and inherited inspiration, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that the Druids, in like manner, succeeded to civil and sacerdotal power. It is certainly more rational to believe that priestcraft, rather than poetic inspiration, passed by hereditary descent amongst the Celtic nations.

Of the organisation of this powerful hierarchy but little is known. They were presided over by one elected from among themselves, and whose authority continued for his life. It also appears that this object of ambition was not always secured by peaceful suffrages, but occasionally came to be decided by force of arms. They had a form of excommunication attended with such effects that it became the most severe of punishments. It cut off the individual who had refused submission to their authority from all society with his fellow-men, debarred him from religious rites, and deprived him of all civil privileges. The Druids of Gaul we know, and those of Britain we may presume, from their religious superiority, had a consecrated place of general assembly to which they annually repaired, and where all disputed cases, private as well as public, were decided.[2]

Divitiacus of Gaul, the Æduan noble, the friend of Cæsar and guest of Cicero at Rome, was a Druid who professed knowledge of the secrets of nature and of divination.[3]

[1] Pipers might also be added, as being hereditary. The last of the Celtic bards of Scotland died in 1726. In his declaration (in Brown's *History of the Highlands*, vol. i. p. 37) he states himself the eighteenth bard in descent, and repeats his ancestry.

[2] C. J. Cæsar, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxiii.

[3] Cicero *On Divination.*

The Druids never committed to writing anything connected with their religious mysteries; but in all other transactions, whether public or private, they made use of the Greek characters. They studied nature and moral philosophy; believed in the immortality of the soul, and in its transmigration; professed to know the size and form of the earth and the universe, the motions of the heavens and the stars, and to ascertain the intentions of the gods. They also taught that not only the soul of man, but also the material world, was indestructible, although at different times it had been altered by fire and by water.[1] In the Druidical rites there would appear, from existing superstitions that will be afterwards noticed, to have been an admixture of obscenity. But the most prominent characteristics of this religion were mystery and cruelty, two commonly-associated elements of ancient sacerdotal power and man's debasement. From the palpitations of dying human victims Druids and Druidesses were wont to draw their auguries. Captives taken in war, criminals, or even persons against whom no charge was preferred, were offered as sacrifices, and made to suffer death in various forms—some being slain with arrows, while others

1 Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxiii. xxxiv. ciii. civ. cv.

The tablets found in the camp of the Helvetii, written in Greek characters, prove that Celtic tribe to have understood calculation, as well as how to read and write. There were in these tablets separate registers of fighting men, old men, women, and children, in all 368,000.

The knowledge of writing among the Gauls is confirmed by a passage in Pomponius Mela, where he says that in former times they carried with them their accounts and claims of debts to the grave. This the geographer mentions as the result of that doctrine of the Druids, the immortality of the soul.

were crucified, or were consumed in a general holocaust of human beings, and animals wild and domestic. Not only to their gods, but to the manes of ancestors, human beings and domestic animals were sacrificed, that they might accompany and serve the departed spirit in the new form it was about to animate, as they had done when it occupied the earthly tenement which it had just abandoned.[1]

Of heathen rites, the Deisiol or sunwise mode of progression is repeatedly mentioned at the periods when Christianity was established in Ireland by St. Patrick, and in the north of Scotland by St. Columba.[2]

In performing the sacred office of cutting the misletoe from the oak, the Druids used a golden sickle, and were clad in white robes. The plant salago, when gathered by the Druids, they declared to be a preservative from accidents to those who wore it about their persons. In gathering it the Druids were dressed in white, with bare feet, and used the right hand passed through the left sleeve.[3] The vervain was a plant used by the Druids in their divinations, and was also gathered with many ceremonies.[4] From these notices by

[1] C. J. Cæsar, Diodorus S. and Strabo, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* pp. ciii. civ.

[2] Dr. Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 119, 120, 125. Dr. Reeves' *St. Columba*, pp. 68, 250, 266, 308. The superstitions attached to the sunwise mode of progression are by no means extinct in the nineteenth century.

[3] Pliny, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* civ. cv.

[4] Medea performed magic rites with bare feet. Some herbs she plucked up by the roots—some she cut with a brazen sickle. She hung vervain round the altar of Hecate (see Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, b. vii. fable ii.)

> "Gin ye wish to be leman of mine,
> Lay aside the St. John's wort and the vervain,"

is the pleading of a disguised fiend to a mortal maid. — *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* — the "Demon Lover."

Pliny we learn that the dress of the Druids was white,[1] and that they went with bare feet. It may here be remarked that the Phœnician priests were dressed in linen, and had their feet bare, when they officiated in the ancient temple of Saturn, with its ever-burning fire, at Gadeira or Cadiz.[2]

The Druids seem to have practised tonsure—a rite that most probably originated where it certainly prevailed from the earliest ages—with the heathen priesthood of eastern countries and warm climates.[3]

"Vervain and dill,
Hinders witches from their will."

—Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, p. 139. Edit. 1857.

On the trial of Elspeth Reoch in Orkney, 12th March 1616, it appeared that she cured diseases by an herb, melefour, which she pulled between her mid-finger and thumb, whilst resting on her right knee.—Sir J. G. Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 22.

Alesoun Pierson (28th May 1588) was tried for witchcraft. She was accused, among other acts, of having gathered herbs, as she had seen the fairies do, before sunrise. She seems to have been consulted for her medical knowledge by the celebrated Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Her remedies for his ague —some of which are in the record of accusation, and include, among other less palatable ingredients, claret wine—probably failed to cure the prelate, as the unfortunate paralytic was convicted and burnt.—Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 162.

Midsummer, now St. John's day, was the season principally devoted to the collection of plants to be used for medicinal or occult purposes. This, in all probability, was derived from the heathen times and solar worship. —Sir J. G. Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 114; quoting Martin de Arles *De Superstitionibus*, Paris 1517.

The seamrag (shamrock-trefoil) was still in 1794 considered an anodyne. It must be plucked by the left hand, and the person who gathers it must neither speak nor look back until his task is accomplished.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, parish of Kirkmichael, Banffshire, vol. xii. pp. 45-45.

[1] By means of fire from heaven, St. Patrick destroyed nine magi (Druids) clothed in white vestments, feigning themselves saints.—See Sir J. G. Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*; quoting *Ancient Ecclesiastical Authorities*, p. 239.

[2] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 127.

[3] Dr. Reeves' *Vita S. Columbæ*, p. 350.

The occult powers of certain fountains were among the objects venerated by the Druids and the heathen inhabitants of Caledonia.[1]

One of the objects of superstition among the Celtic people, and of magical imposition by the Druids, was the serpent's-egg, serpent's gem, or Druid's bead.[2] They are sometimes supposed to have been represented by shells of the sea-urchin ; but undoubtedly the rings and beads of glass that have been often found in sepulchral deposits of the early British period are the serpent's gem and Druid's beads, and were probably derived from Phœnician traders.

Probably the little white stone sent by St. Columba to the Pictish king was one of these. The Druid Broichan was miraculously cured by drinking water poured over this consecrated charm, which retained its supernatural powers at all events until the termination of the Pictish monarchy in Caledonia.[3] In the island of Fladda, on the north coast of Skye, was a small chapel dedicated to St. Columba ; and on an altar in it lay a round blue stone, which maintained, in the belief of the people, miraculous and sanitary powers, even in the end of the seventeenth century when visited by Martin. To wash this stone ensured a favourable wind ; and to apply it to the place, cured local pains in votaries and believers. A variegated stone of bright colours, about the size of an egg, was surreptitiously removed from the little island of Oldney,

[1] Reeves' *Vita S. Columbæ*, p. 119 ; also *Gildas*, section 4.

[2] Ovum Anguinum. In Celtic, Glain-Naider or Glaine-nan-Druidhe.

[3] Thomas Innes's *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 197 and 207 ; and Dr. Reeves' *Vita S. Columbæ*, p. 147.

in the parish of Assint, in Sutherland, about the middle of the last century. It had always been regarded with the greatest veneration by the inhabitants.[1]

The account given by the Druids of the manner of the formation, mode of acquiring, and magical properties of these amulets, as detailed by Pliny, differs but little from the popular belief long preserved, and possibly not yet extinct, in some parts of Wales and Cornwall. The serpents are said to have assembled at certain seasons, and when twined together in masses, to have thrown off these rings, which were formed of their viscous slime. By the hissing of the snakes the rings were ejected into the air, and then was the time for a daring mortal to secure the prize, by receiving it on a cloth before it could fall to the ground. It was also indispensible to his safety, as well as to success, that he should be on horseback; and take flight with the prize he had seized, as he would be instantly pursued and in danger until he had placed a river between himself and the despoiled serpents.

Absurd as such priestly frauds and popular superstitions may be deemed, they are not devoid of interest, and have a certain value as showing that the Druids considered the serpent as endued with intelligence and mysterious powers, such as it received credit for with the descendants of Abraham and the aborigines of South India. The Caledonian hieroglyphic of the serpent, either by itself or transfixed with the double-angled sceptre on the sculptured stones of Scotland,[2] also adds

[1] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, xvi. 205.

[2] See article on the "Serpent and double-angled Sceptre."

to the interest of the narrative preserved by Pliny; while a legend nearly similar has been handed down to the present day in those parts of Britain where Celtic dialects are still spoken, or have lately become extinct. It has been well remarked that "the most conclusive evidence of the remote antiquity to which these singular and widely diffused[1] relics belong, is to be found in the fact, that their origin and virtues were the subject of the same superstitious fables (eighteen hundred years ago) in the age of Pliny, as in the British folk-lore of the eighteenth century."[2]

In this Druidical fiction the serpent is not only represented as possessing supernatural powers, but, like the Naga (cobra de capella) of the ancient serpent-worshippers of India and Ceylon, as being of a beneficent disposition. For these serpent rings and beads were believed to ensure good fortune to their possessors,[3] and water poured on them was deemed sufficiently efficacious to restore to health either men or animals that were afflicted with disease. Carew, who wrote his Survey of Cornwall about 1602, says—"The country people retain a conceit, that the snakes, by their breathing about a hazle-wand, do make a stone-ring of a blue colour, in which there appeareth the yellow figure of a snake; and that beasts which are stung,

[1] They are found in ancient Egyptian tombs.

[2] Wilson's *Prehistorical and Archæological History of Scotland*, p. 306. Pliny, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* cv.

[3] In the parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming a tumulus, which had the name of the *Beltonmount*, was opened. It contained a kistvaen formed of six flag-stones, in which "were found some Druidical beads" (*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, xiii. 272). It is unfortunate that the reverend author of this statistical account does not more particularly describe these beads, or say what became of them.

being given to drink of the water wherein this stone has been soaked, will therethrough recover." Carew adds, "there was such a one bestowed on me," etc. etc.[1] The serpent's egg, the amulet so called, was held in high estimation by the Druids, and amongst other virtues, was believed to ensure to its possessor the favour of princes and success in law-suits. A Roman, of equestrian rank, a native of Gaul, was put to death by order of the emperor Tiberius for having one of these serpent's eggs concealed in his bosom during a trial.[2]

The fiction regarding the pursuit by serpents of the daring horseman who ventured to carry off the egg they had ejected into the air, and of his safety being insured whenever he had passed a river, is one of the numberless proofs of the descent of British witchcraft from Druidical superstitions and practices. Evil spirits and witches even now have no power to pursue those who have offended them beyond a river. The

1 Both men and animals in Ireland, as well as in England and Scotland, were supposed to be cured by water in which enchanted stones, crystal balls, and other like amulets, had been placed. St. Columba, and other early saints, made use of such means. The head of St. Marnan at Aberkerdoure, in Banffshire, which was preserved as a relic, was also employed in the same manner, viz., to infuse sanative qualities into the water in which it was washed, and which is said to have restored health to many invalid persons.

Water in which the adder's stone had been placed was carried an hundred miles to be administered to patients in the Highlands of Scotland.

On May-day cattle were sprinkled with water in which a crystal ball had been washed or boiled; and mention is made of "a large crystal, somewhat oval, which priests kept to work charms by."

These and many other facts of a similar nature, and the authorities from which they are derived, will be found in Sir J. G. Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 150-157; Adamnan's *Vita S. Columbæ*, by Dr. Reeves; the *Breviary of Aberdeen*, and Gaelic dictionaries, article "Leug."

2 Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* b. xxix.

witches of Kirk Alloway fell back baffled by the water of Doon from the chase of Tam-o'-Shanter, for—

"A running stream they darena cross."

It is distinctly mentioned by Cæsar, and is also referred to by Cicero, that the Gauls, if exposed to great danger, or when suffering from painful maladies, sacrificed human victims, because they believed that the life of one could be redeemed by the life of another man; and in the performance of these sacrifices the Druids were employed. It is shown, on the authority of Cæsar and Tacitus, that the Druidical religion was most perfect in Britain; and that the Britons and Gauls had the same rites and superstitions; and that the languages of the two countries differed but little. From many authorities it appears that the early Christian teachers[1] neither disdained to occupy heathen fanes, nor failed to make use of some of the mysterious practices, and to claim similar or superior occult powers to those attributed to the Druids.

The evidence that can be produced, although only circumstantial, seems sufficient to prove that, generally speaking, the witchcraft and superstitions of Britain, particularly of Caledonia, were but a continuance of heathen rites. These, at the introduction of Christianity, appear to have been tolerated to all, and to have been partially adopted by the Christian teachers. Afterwards, being prohibited, such heathen deceptions, when practised by unsanctified or lay performers, involved severe punishment or a cruel death: those who used

[1] See, for proofs of this, *The Lives of the Saints*, *Aberdeen Breviary*, Dr. Reeves' *Adamnan*, Bedes' *Account of St. Germanus*, etc. etc. See also the chapter on "Circular Columnar Fanes, and Druids."

them, if other than ecclesiastics, being condemned as witches, sorcerers, or heretics.

The following are instances in North Britain of the continuance in later times of practices in accordance with a belief in the Druid tenet, that the life of one man could only be redeemed by that of another. The existence of this belief, in the end of the sixteenth century, even among individuals of the highest rank in Scotland, is remarkably proved by the trial of Hector Monro, the seventeenth Baron of Fowlis, on the 22d July 1590, "for sorcery, incantation, witchcraft, and slaughter."

In the month of January 1588 this gentleman, being sick, sent for Marioune M'Ingaruch, a notorious witch, who came and gave him water to drink in which she had placed three stones.[1] This remedy not being effectual, the witch informed the Baron that he could not recover unless, to use the words of the indictment, "the principal man of his bluid should die for him." The accomplices now pronounced that the substitute who must be sacrificed to save the Baron's life was his next younger brother, viz., George Monro, the son of Hector's father by his second wife, Catherine Ross, Lady Fowlis.

[1] These stones were afterwards secured by the judicial authorities, and no doubt were of the same kind as those made use of, probably by the heathen Druids, and certainly by Christian saints, sorcerers, and witches. Under various names, as Druid's glass, adder's stones, enchanted stones, curing stones, etc. etc., the employment of such magical instruments of cure can be traced from the time when St. Columba cured the Druid Broichan, up to, and probably beyond the commencement of the nineteenth century. Many of these stones were preserved with great care, some of them by ancient families, and many amongst ignorant and humble empirics. An account of some of the most famed of these amulets will be found in Sir J. G. Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, chap. iv.

The wretches with whom Hector Monro had associated himself, probably accomplished the younger brother's death by means more effectual than ceremonies of witchcraft and incantations, although these were not spared.

It seems probable that the crimes of Hector Monro, or his stepmother, had opened the way for his occupancy, which she intended should be temporary, of the estates and position which he had held as Baron of Fowlis. For Hector Monro had succeeded his brother Robert, sixteenth Baron of Fowlis, who died a young man after living less than one year in possession, but had previously buried three wives—viz., 1*st*, Marjory, daughter of Lord Kintail ; 2*d*, Lady Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Sutherland ; and 3*d*, Lady Janet, daughter of the Earl of Caithness. He also left a widow, Elizabeth, daughter of Rose of Kilravock. Part of the schemes of Catherine Ross Lady Fowlis, as alleged in her indictment, was to marry this widow, Elizabeth, to Lady Fowlis' brother—Ross of Balnagowan, and to facilitate this event *his* wife was to be poisoned.

That the undertaking of Hector Monro with the witch Marioune M'Ingaruch and their associates was a case of offering one human victim to save another person who was already devoted, appears not only from the accusations and admissions of guilty accomplices, but also from the following circumstances :—George Monro, the doomed substitute of his elder half-brother, had two full brothers, John and Andrew, younger than himself, against whose lives Hector was not accused of conspiring. Yet they would, equally with George, have been

objects for which their mother might have contemplated Hector's death, in order to insure her son's succession. This is mentioned in case it might be supposed that Hector's object in procuring the death of his half-brother George, was by removing the temptation to protect himself from the deadly machinations of a stepmother bent on removing all obstructions to her son's aggrandisement.

One of the preliminary unhallowed rites connected with the sacrifice of George Monro is particularly worthy of notice from its mysterious and impressive character. The witch and her accomplices, one hour after midnight, repaired to a spot near high-water mark, where there was a boundary between lands belonging to the king and the bishop. There, having first carefully removed the turf, they dug a grave long enough to contain the sick man, Hector Monro, and then returned to convey him to a temporary interment. Wrapped in a pair of blankets—it was in the month of January, and in the north of Scotland—they carried him to the grave they had prepared, and placed him in it. They then covered him with the green turf that had been previously removed, which they fastened with wands.[1] The foster-mother of Hector Monro—viz., Christian Neil—then ran the breadth of nine

[1] These wands were probably of mountain-ash or rowan-tree, which was esteemed a powerful protection against evil spirits. From this belief may have been derived the origin of the custom which we so often see in churchyards in all parts of Britain. It is now said that the wands are so placed to protect the green sod from cattle ; but it may be remarked that often they are so arranged as to be of no avail for such a purpose, and in many places may be seen over graves in burying-grounds to which it is impossible cattle could have access.

ridges, and, on returning to the grave, asked the witch "which was her choice?" She answered, "that Hector should live, and his brother George die for him." This part of the ceremony having been three times repeated, and from the commencement to the end of these rites no other words having been spoken, Hector was removed from the grave and conveyed back to his bed. He recovered from his illness; and having cautioned the witch that if George Monro were to die suddenly all their lives would be in danger, she in answer warranted that his death should not take place soon; and it actually happened upwards of a year after—viz., in June 1590, only a month previous to the trial of Hector Monro.

Catherine Ross, Lady Fowlis, was tried the same day as her stepson Hector. The charges against her were for "witchcraft, incantation, sorcery, and poisoning." Several of her familiars had previously been put to death—strangled and burnt—after having confessed their own and her iniquities. The lady and her stepson, however, were both acquitted; and their escape, says Pitcairn, "can only be attributed to their very powerful influence," and appears to have been managed by means of packed juries. The very long articles of accusation against this lady combine many charges of grovelling superstition, along with hideous blasphemy and wholesale poisoning.[1]

A long-enduring superstition—viz., that a person might be relieved from a malady under which he was suffering by

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, 4to, 1833, vol. i. pp. 191-204. The record of Lady Fowlis' indictment occupies nine pages of this quarto volume.

having it transferred and imposed upon another, and that witches and sorcerers had the power, not of remitting but of removing disease from one individual, and, as it was called, "laying it" on another—seems to be a corollary to the Druid tenet that the life of one man could only be redeemed by the life of another, and of which the above occurrences in the family of the barons of Fowlis, and in the year of grace 1590, is an instance.

The alleged art of transferring disease or pain from one person to another, and thus relieving the original sufferer, is one of the most common articles of accusation in the trials of witches;[1] and a modification of the same practice is very often comprehended in the crimes of which witches were accused—viz., of their having transferred sickness or suffering from a human being to some animal, generally a dog or a cat, which vicarious sufferer, it is generally averred in the judicial accusation, was never afterwards seen. The local and general records of judicial trials in Scotland abound in such alleged crimes. That the transfer of maladies was only a modification of the tenet of the sacrifice of one life being efficient for the saving of another, appears from the exclamation of Catherine Bigland, who was tried in 1615 for having transferred a disease from herself to a man. Having heard the accusation, she exclaimed, "if William Bigland lived, she would die; therefore, God forbid he live."[2]

In the accumulation of blasphemous impossibilities,

[1] Many examples of such accusations will be found in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, 3 vols. 4to, 1833.

[2] Sir J. Grahame Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, 1835, p. 176.

amounting to twenty-eight charges, on which Ewfame Makcalzane was tried in June 1591, she was accused of having at the birth of her first son cast her pains unnaturally upon a dog, which ran away, and was never seen again; and that at the birth of her last son the lady had transferred her "natural and kindly pains to a wanton cat, whilk was never seen thereafter."

Such accusations would be ludicrous, were it not for the horrible termination. This lady, the only daughter and heiress of a distinguished Scotch judge, Lord Cliftounhall, was convicted and burnt alive on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh on the 24th June 1591. This unfortunate lady left three daughters; but the estate of Cliftounhall was granted by King James to one of his favourites.[1]

The belief that the sacrifice of one might save the life of another was not confined to human beings, but extended to animals, and it was a practice to immolate one of a herd to insure the safety of the remainder. Dalyell, in his *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, in 1837, refers "to a recent expedient in the neighbouring kingdom, where a person, having lost many of his herd, burnt a living calf to preserve the remainder."[2] In the same work, quoting the trial of John Brughe in 1643, the author states that the accusation was for burying one of his cattle alive, and driving the others over the spot; and thus by devilish means curing the sickness, and stopping the mortality amongst his cattle. This seems to have been

[1] This account of the family, and extracts from the accusations, are taken from Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, 4to, 1833, vol. i. pp. 247 to 257.

[2] P. 184.

the most approved practice, as various instances of it are given ; and in one case, by the direction of Isobel Young—her trial took place in 1629—a live ox and a cat, with a great quantity of salt, were buried, to arrest sickness and mortality amongst cattle.[1]

"In Wales," says a reverend historian of that country in 1812, "when a violent disease breaks out amongst the horned cattle, the farmers of the district where it rages join to give up a bullock for a victim, which is carried to the top of a precipice, from whence it is thrown down." This is called "casting a captive to the devil."[2]

In Brittany the same superstition is retained, but is directed to a more rational conclusion. On the eve of the *Pardon* at Saint Nicodemus, in the commune of Plumeliau, an ox, a cow, a calf, and a sheep, decorated with ribbons, are led in procession round the church, preceded by drums, fifes, standards, etc. These animals are afterwards disposed of for the benefit of the patron saint, who, it is believed, will protect the other animals on the land of the person who makes the offerings, which are devoted by the procession and ceremonies of the *Pardon*.[3]

An authentic account in modern times of the offering in sacrifice one animal for the saving of others occurs in Pro-

[1] Pp. 185-186.

[2] *North Wales, Historical and Topographical*, by the Rev. J. Evans. In *The Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. xvii. part i. p. 36, 1812.

Hone, quoting from Hitchin's *Cornwall*, gives the details of a revolting case of burning a calf to death about the year 1800 ; the calf being the farmer's finest one, and the object of the sacrifice being to arrest the murrain.—Hone's *Everyday Book*, i. 431.

[3] *Pelerinages de Bretagne-Morbihan*, par Hippolyte Violeau, 1855, pp. 95, 96.

fessor J. Y. Simpson's Address to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1861. In it he informs us that within twenty miles of Edinburgh a cow was buried alive as a sacrifice to the spirit of the murrain. The Professor is not an old man, and his informant, from whom he had often heard the particulars, had taken part in the sacrifice. In a most interesting paper, read to the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland on the 13th May 1861 by Dr. Mitchell, he shows that in Kirkcudbright the practice of sacrificing bulls prevailed in the twelfth century; that in the seventeenth century bulls were sacrificed at Applecross, in Ross-shire, as a propitiatory health-offering; and that in Moray, within the last ten years, an ox was buried alive as an offering to preserve the rest of the herd. He also mentions a late instance of the sacrifice of a cock as a health-offering; and refers to the adoration of wells and stones; also pouring libations of milk on hills, as denounced by the presbytery of Dingwall in the seventeenth century.

From Cæsar we learn that it was forbidden to the Britons to eat the cock, the hare, or the goose.[1] In this case also it appears that heathen rites or restrictions of the ancient Britons, existing before the Christian era, have been maintained by their descendants until a late period or the present day. In another chapter the sacrifice of cocks is more particularly referred to; so that it is unnecessary here to do more than notice that two well-authenticated instances of such rites—viz., one in the most southern, and one in the northern division of Britain—occurred so lately that it brings the prac-

[1] Cæsar, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxi.

tice up to the present day, showing an enduring belief that a cock offered to some god or spirit may yet be a sacrifice adequate to procuring restored health to the individual for whom the offering is made. The goose was worshipped in Egypt 700 years B.C. In Burmah it is the national emblem, and is a sacred one used in many parts of Hindostan and in Ceylon. The glorification of the goose in the West was by no means confined to the Britons, who did not derive this feeling from, although they shared it with, the classical nations of Europe.[1]

Meeting a hare is still in many parts of Britain considered an unlucky presage,[2] and that witches can assume the shape of hares is still believed by many old and superstitious people. In the extraordinary delusions and confessions of Isobel Gowdie in 1662, she describes, that having been sent by the devil on an errand to Aulderne, in Nairnshire, and having assumed the form of a hare, she was seen and chased by dogs; that after being long hunted and greatly tired, she at length got sufficient time to repeat the formula by which she was restored to her own shape, and thus baffled the hounds. Had they seized or bitten or scratched her when in the form of a hare, she said the marks would have remained when she resumed her human form. In these remarkable confessions are to be found formulæ both for assuming the likeness of a hare and for regaining the human shape.[3]

[1] Some curious particulars regarding the estimation in which the goose was held will be found under the head of "The Henza," in Sir J. Emerson Tennent's *Ceylon*.

[2] That it was so in earlier times is proved by many authors quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* by Sir Henry Ellis.

[3] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, 4to, 1833, vol. iii. pp. 607 to 611.

The British queen Boadicea, in the presence of her own and the Roman army, took from her bosom a hare, which she released; and a favourable augury being deduced by the Britons from the course in which the animal started, the queen ordered her army to commence an immediate attack on that of the Romans.[1]

I have known an instance of a man firing with a crooked sixpence at a hare which he believed to be a witch.[2] He missed, but insisted, and his neighbours believed, that he had hit; for although the hare was none the worse, an old woman in the neighbourhood, who about that time was attacked with some acute rheumatic pains, was considered to have been the hare, and to be suffering from the wound inflicted by the silver sixpence.[3]

The last of three animals which Cæsar mentions as prohibited to be eaten by the Britons is the goose. The connection of this bird with the witchcraft and superstitions of our ancestors is not so clear and continued as that of the cock or of the hare. In the trial of Bessie Aitkyn in 1597, however, it appeared that she had been consulted by James Johnstoune,

[1] Xiphiline, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* lvii.

[2] At Abergeldie, Aberdeenshire.

[3] Pennant, in his *Tour in Wales*, says that in the ancient laws regarding hunting in that country, noxious animals had no value assigned to them, as all persons might kill them. Neither was any value set upon a hare, "because it was believed every other month to change its sex."—Vol. ii. p. 282; London, 1810.

In treating of the animal remains discovered in the ancient and long obsolete Swiss lake-dwellings, Sir Charles Lyell remarks—"The almost universal absence of this quadruped (viz., the hare) is supposed to imply that the Swiss lake-dwellers were prevented from eating that animal by the same superstition which now prevails among the Laplanders, and which Julius Cæsar found in full force amongst the ancient Britons."—Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, 1863, pp. 23-4.

who was suffering from severe illness. Bessie recommended him to procure a green goose, which was to be stuffed with four or five kittens. The goose was then to be roasted, and James was to be anointed with the juice and drippings. The effect of this prescription upon the patient is not recorded; but the woman, and three others tried at the same time, were sentenced to be strangled and burnt on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh.[1]

The lady Eufame Makcalzane, whose horrible fate is above noticed, was, in the nineteenth of the series of long charges urged against her, accused of sending to one of her familiars a wax figure inclosed in a *goose*, that it might be enchanted by the devil. The indictment alleges that the figure "was enchanted by him," and then returned to the accused.

At Kelso, in the last century, it was a custom amongst a society of young men to hang up a goose by the feet, then to march past, one after another, and each person to take a pluck as he passed, until some one pulled off the goose's head. Previous to attacking the goose the same fraternity first tormented and then killed a cat.[2]

We may well believe that our heathen ancestors in Caledonia venerated a bird to which, at least to some species of it, such a mysterious origin was assigned as to the goose. Eminent divines, scholars, and historians[3] of the sixteenth and

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 29.

[2] Brand's *Popular Antiquities* by Sir Henry Ellis, vol. iii. p. 4.

[3] Bishop Gawin Douglas, the translator of Virgil; Principal Hector Boece, doctor of theology, the historian; also the historian Bishop Leslie, bishop of Ross, afterwards of Constance; Sir Robert Sibbald, *Nat. History of Scotland;* Wallace's *Orkneys*, etc.

seventeenth centuries describe the solan goose and barnacle as formed in shells that grew on branches of trees or drift-wood immersed in the sea. Camden[1] says he would not have recorded the following circumstance unless he had received the relation from several very credible witnesses—viz., that wild geese attempting to fly over the territory of Whitby Abbey fell down upon the ground. These descents of wild geese were ascribed to the sanctity of St. Hilda. The reverend author of the statistical account of the parish of Kirkwall in 1793 says, "The ember goose is a bird of a large size and an elegant form, which is never seen on land, and which is supposed to hatch her eggs under her wing, where there is a hole which nature, it is thought, has prepared for the purpose."

We are told that the Druidesses of Sena, on the coast of Armorica, could assume the shape of animals. This also was a privilege which witches were believed to possess; and that the form they most commonly assumed was the hare or the cat. I have already referred to the hare; as to the cat, witches, it was alleged, could change themselves into the likeness of that animal for nine times, but not oftener. In 1590 Agnes Sampson confessed that she had christened a cat, and afterwards cast it into the sea; also that the sacrifice of "the said christened cat," and other ceremonies, impeded the voyage of King James VI. from Denmark, and caused the loss of a boat in the Firth of Forth, in which were rich gifts and jewels intended as presents for the queen on her arrival.

[1] *Camden*, by Bishop Gibson, folio, 1772, vol. ii. p. 113.

At the same time, and with the same object, another cat was cast into the sea at another place on the shore of the Forth.[1]

Amongst other articles of accusation, Beigis Tod, in 1608, was alleged to have christened a cat by the name of Margaret, after having passed it nine times through the iron gate of Seatoun, and then to have cast it to the devil. Such were the nature of the charges on which Beigis Tod, one man, and three other women were committed to the flames.[2]

In the delusions and confessions of Isobel Gowdie, already referred to, she gives the formula by which a witch could change herself into the likeness of a cat, and also that by which she could regain her human shape.[3]

In 1607 Isobel Grierson was tried, convicted, and burnt as a witch on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh ; and one of the acts of which she was found guilty was, that at Prestonpans, in the likeness of her own cat, accompanied by a great many other cats, she entered at night into the house of Adam Clerk, and there made such great and fearful noises and trouble that through fear Adam and the other inmates were nearly driven mad.[4]

If the " Extracts given from the Church Book of Bottesford," in the *Everyday Book*,[5] be correct, two women at least owed their execution for witchcraft at Lincoln in 1618 to the same gross superstition as existed on the north side of the

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. pp. 218-237.
[2] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. pp. 542-4.
[3] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. iii. p. 607.
[4] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. pp. 523-4.
[5] Hone's *Everyday Book*, vol. ii. (March 12), p. 186.

Tweed. In this case the Earl and Countess of Rutland and their family were the alleged sufferers ; and Rutterkin, the cat, was an accomplice of the *real* sufferers—viz., two sisters of the name of Flower, who suffered as witches at Lincoln on the 12th March 1618.

The earliest Roman writer on geography[1] alludes to the great influence exercised by the Druids in Gaul, and mentions the Gallicenæ, nine priestesses attached to the oracle of a Gallic deity in the island of Sena, on the coast of the Osismii.[2] These Pythonesses claimed to exercise power over the winds and waves—to change their shape and assume the form of any animal—to foretell future events—and to cure the most malignant diseases. In this account, also, it will be perceived that the powers attributed to the Gallicenæ were the same as those commonly urged in the accusations against the witches, the Ban-Druidh of the Caledonians.[3]

[1] Pomponius Mela, in the middle of the first century.

[2] Now Ile-de-Sen, near Point de Raz, in the department of Finistere. It still possesses Cyclopean remains of its heathen inhabitants.

[3] In the confession of Isobel Gowdie, accused of witchcraft 13th April, and 3d, 15th, and 27th May 1662, are to be found the formulæ by which she says witches, including herself, raised the wind, or caused it to abate—by which they assumed the form of hares, cats, or crows, or regained their own shape—also the contrivances by which they cured some persons and killed others.—Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, 4to, 1833, vol. iii. pp. 602-616.

In 1792, in the parish of Gigha, county Argyle, there were still living two women who were said to have the knowledge, and appear to have been sometimes applied to for fair winds to persons about to depart, or friends expected to arrive at the island.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 52.

In the third century a Druidess of Gaul foretold, when Diocletian was a private soldier, that he would ascend a throne. The prophetic powers of Druids and Druidesses were perpetuated in the "second-sight" of Gaelic seers, and the divination of sorcerers and witches.

The Gallicenæ professed to be vestals; not so the Druidesses of an island at the mouth of the river Loire, of whom some account is given by Strabo; and the general impression to be derived from ancient authors is, that the Celtic priestesses were unchaste and cruel. In the case of priestesses of this island off the mouth of the Loire it would appear that they annually sacrificed one of their own number. The women dressed in dark funereal garments, who are described,[1] with hair streaming to the wind, running like furies, with torches in their hands, along the British ranks in Anglesea, were probably Druidesses;[2] for, at the same time, the Druids are said to have stood, with hands spread to heaven, uttering imprecations against the Romans who were crossing the strait to attack the Britons. Their bravery and the prayers of their priesthood were unavailing, and the conquest of this Druid stronghold was followed by the levelling of its sacred groves, in which prisoners taken in war had been sacrificed with barbarous rites on the Druidical altars.

In Brittany some ancient but still existing ceremonies, which are lascivious and obscene, can be connected with heathenism by means of its monuments. Of this an example will be found in the description of the Menhir of Kerloaz, and in the following notices of a granite statue, of rude design and coarse workmanship, that has in turn been called a Roman Venus and Egyptian Isis. The original object and name of this statue is unknown, but in later

[1] Tacitus, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxviii. [2] In Celtic, *Ban-Druidh.*

times it has been distinguished as the Venus of Quinipili, and is still preserved at Baud, fifteen miles from Hennebon. It seems to be admitted that the figure intended to be represented is a female, about seven feet in height, and scantily provided with raiment. For ages this idol was worshipped with indecent rites by those calling themselves Christians. In the seventeenth century the Count de Lannion, instigated by the clergy, determined to put an end to the scandal, and caused this representative of obscenity to be thrown into the river Blavet. But the wrath of the Bretons was raised at the loss of their cherished idol. They defied both the temporal and spiritual authorities, rescued the Groah-Goard[1]—the name by which this statue had been known to the inhabitants—replaced her on a pedestal, and renewed the impure orgies of which she was the patroness. The original site of this idol was on the hill of Castennec, at no great distance from its present locality, and in the country of the Celtic Veneti, whose large vessels and maritime adventure had probably originated in Phœnician influence. The ceremonies practised by the Bretons in honour of this so-called Venus of Quinipili were akin to those used by the Phœnicians in the worship of their Venus.

Although in Brittany Christianity has failed to annihilate all immodest emblems and lascivious ceremonies, it cannot be justly charged with having introduced rites that are offensive to decency and prejudicial to morality; still it must be con-

[1] Or "Grouech-Houam, the iron-woman."—Weld's *Vacation in Brittany*, p. 241. Fremenville gives it the name "Vieille-couarde" in his *Antiquities of Morbihan*, p. 144.

sidered an unworthy compliance, as well as a mistaken policy, that substituted "Notre Dame de la Joie," "Notre Dame de la Liesse,"[1] and their churches, for objects of heathen worship and pagan temples. A small and very ancient chapel near Baud, the town where the Venus of Quinipili retains her place, is dedicated to Notre Dame de la Clarte ;[2] and although Notre Dame has here a less objectionable designation, it is no doubt equally derived from a heathen deity. There is also a church to which Christians—baptized heathens would be a more appropriate name for them—are said to steal in the shades of evening or in the darkness of night. There they repeat three aves, in the full persuasion that they will thus ensure the fulfilment of their evil desires of death or misfortune which they imprecate against, it may be, some strict guardian, jealous husband, or hated neighbour. It is believed that such were the powers and attributes of the Celtic deity Tutates, whose fane has been superseded by the church, and whose malignant influence is supposed to have descended to Notre Dame de la Haine, near Treguier.[3]

The spirit of malignity and heathenism that attracts worshippers to Notre Dame de la Haine at Treguier would appear still to linger in some parts of North Wales. A clergyman,[4] writing of that district in 1812, says, that in some obscure parts persons on their bare knees make offerings before the

1 Fremenville, *Antiq. Finistere*, Brest, 1844, pp. 91, 92.

2 Fremenville, *Antiq. Morbihan ;* Brest, 1835, p. 143.

3 Souvestre, *Derniers Bretons*, Paris, 1854, vol. i. p. 92.

4 *North Wales*, by Rev. J. Evans, vol. xvii. ; *Beauties of England and Wales*, 1812, pp. 124, 125.

altar in a Christian church, at the same time uttering virulent and dreadful imprecations on any individual with whom the blasphemous devotee is at variance—calling down curses and misfortunes, not only on the person with whom he is at enmity, but also on his family for generations to come. The same heathenish spirit of revenge is sometimes exhibited, and the same effects expected, by making offerings and using imprecations at certain wells. These acts of paganism are called "offerings of an enemy."[1]

It would appear, from traditions connected with the church of Birnie, in Morayshire, that its site had probably been occupied in days of paganism by the fane of a heathen deity, with attributes similar to that of the predecessor of "Notre Dame de la Haine." Birnie was the original seat of the bishops of Moray, and its ancient church is held in great veneration. In that part of the country there is a superstition that prayers offered up there on three several Sundays will surely be heard. There is also a common saying equally applicable to a person in sickness or to one of bad character—viz., "You have need to be prayed for thrice in the church of Birnie, that you may either end or mend."[2] This evidently implies amendment or death as the result of the prayers. In the immediate neigh-

[1] In the parish and church of St. Aelian, Caernarvonshire, says Pennant, some persons repair to the saint "to imprecate their neighbours, and to request the saint to afflict with sudden death, or with some great misfortune, any persons who may have offended them." St. Aelian's Well seems to have been considered as a place equally eligible for cures or curses as his church. The genii of the well were probably the predecessors of St. Ælian.—Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, 1810, vol. iii. p. 158.

[2] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* (Parish of Birnie, by the Rev. J. Anderson), vol. ix. pp. 160, 161.

bourhood of the church, on a granite boulder-stone, is graven the emblem, which I believe to be a fire-altar and double-angled sceptre surmounted by the hawk.[1]

There is no distinct information to be found regarding the principal objects of Celtic worship, or even their names. As the Greek and Roman authors appear to have given the names of their own gods to those of the Britons and Gauls whose attributes they most resembled,—Bal or Belenus is probably noted as Apollo ; Astarté or Adraste as Venus Urania,[2] Minerva, or Diana ; Vitucadrus or Bitucadrus as Mars ; Dis as either Pluto or Jupiter ; and Tutates as Mercury, the inventor of useful arts, god of travellers and traders, also a god of secrecy, the patron of thieves, and protector of villains in general.

There were also many inferior objects of worship, animate and inanimate. Among the latter Gildas mentions mountains and rivers, forests and fountains. Various inscriptions of the period when South Britain was occupied by the Romans mention even the names of local deities.[3] Yet it is probable that the Roman auxiliaries who erected the altars, like the Roman authors, had in view the names of such deities

[1] In the same parish is another stone with the emblem which I have called the comb-case, but there it is believed to represent a book, and thus has got the name of " the Bible-stone."

[2] Urania, the Varuna of the Hindus ? Ouranos of the Greeks ? The Ouranus of the Phœnicians, who devised the worship of Bactulia, rude stones. See reference to Varuna, under the head of " Sculptured Elephant." Astarte, the Venus of Syria, the protectress of mariners, was adopted by the Etruscans, as by the colonists of Tyre.—Sir Gardner Wilkinson in *Journal of Archæological Association*, vol. xii. p. 32.

[3] Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, pp. 256-299.

in their native land. Even from a most distinct inscription found near the wall of Antoninus, on the limits of Caledonia, where a prefect of a cohort of Gauls dedicates an altar to the deities and field deities of Britain,[1] no information is derived regarding these minor Celtic deities. Under the head of "Beltane" will be found notices of rites, from which something may be inferred regarding deities who protected, and malignant incarnations that injured the flocks and herds of the Caledonians. One circumstance finds continually new points of support in all investigations regarding the ancient religion, the Cyclopean fanes, and sculptured stones of Celtic countries—viz., that in the introduction of Christianity there was much of compromise. Christianity was introduced, but paganism was not discarded :—it is not yet extinct. It is remarkable that there are no remains of the hideous images which Gildas describes as mouldering beside the ancient heathen temples. It may be that, like the Baliya, planetary images of Ceylon and India,[2] they were purposely formed of perishable materials, or of clay, like the earliest statues of the gods at Rome.

In the varied and contradictory attributes assigned to the principal deities of the Roman Pantheon there could never have been difficulty in finding some resemblance to them in any object of worship in other systems of paganism. The Druidical religion, however, notwithstanding Cæsar gives the names of Roman gods to Celtic deities, must not only have been different from, but antagonistic to, that of the Romans, as

[1] Stewart's *Caledonia Romana*, p. 309.
[2] Of earth, clay, or cow-dung.

well as to the dominion of that people. This is proved by the Druid religion and rites being prohibited by a nation so tolerant as the Romans in matters of religion.[1]

Passages from various ancient authors seem, when compared, to point out that the Celts, the Gauls, sacrificed human beings to several of their gods, including Belenus, or whatever may have been the name of the god of that nation whom Cæsar calls Apollo. Besides the national sacrifices, individuals exposed to great dangers or suffering from malignant diseases sacrificed human victims, the sacrifices in the case of individuals being also performed by the Druids.[2] The victim was sacrificed because the Gauls believed that the life of one man could only be redeemed by the sacrifice of another. They also believed that Apollo had power to avert diseases. A circumstance to be learned from Cæsar and from Strabo is, that the Milesians and Delians associated the sun and moon with Apollo and Artemis, as they rendered the air salubrious or brought pestilence and sudden death. The Leucadians, according to Strabo, annually sacrificed a human victim to Apollo at the promontory on which stood his temple of Apollo-Leucatas.

The temple of the Didymean Apollo, in the territory of the Milesians, had this resemblance to the Celtic fanes, that

[1] Now, or not long since, Breton peasants might be found teaching their children the sacred and mysterious chaunt which was believed to be the same that was taught by the Druids to the rising generation of a former era. The Bretons admit that its meaning is incomprehensible to them; and learned expositions and accurate translations prove that it is unintelligible to others,—in fact, that it has become in transmission, if it were not originally, absolute nonsense.

[2] Cæsar, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxiv.; Cicero's Oration for Fonteius.

it was without a roof. It also contained a magnificent grove which extended beyond the sacred enclosure.[1]

Lucan, in his *Pharsalia*, refers to the revolting sacrifices offered on the altars of the Celtic deities Teutates, Hesus, and Taranis; for the passages which follow regarding the Bards and Druids, and their tenets, as well as the commencement, naming the Ligurians and Gauls, seem to leave no doubt that Teutates, Hesus, and Taranis were objects of Celtic worship to whom human victims were offered.[2] In the isle of Skye there is Tempul-na-Anait (the Temple of Anait).[3] In the Western Isles is the small island of Calligray, attached parochially to Harris, in the north end of which are the remains of a very ancient building called Teampull-na-h-Annait (the Temple of Annait). Near this temple is a well, at which the worshippers purified themselves, called Tobar-na-h-Annait (Well of Annait), and the point of land on which it is situated is called Ru-na-h-Annait.[4] It may be worthy of consideration whether

[1] Strabo, b. xiv. c. 1.

[2] The shrine of Taranis is here said to be inhuman as that of the Scythian Diana. The altar of this goddess was at Tauris, in the land of the Getæ. It was originally of white stone, which became red by the blood of human victims. All strangers seized in the land were sacrificed to this sister of Phœbus by the priestess, who was a virgin of noble descent, and the weapon she used in their immolation was a sword.—Ovid's *Epistles*, b. iii. Epistle 2 to Cotta.

[3] Pennant's *Voyage to Scotland*, vol. i. p. 342.

[4] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. x. p. 375.

"Various places in the Hebrides and on the opposite continent are called Annaid, and supposed to have been dedicated to the goddess Annat."—Highland Society's *Gaelic Dictionary*.

There is also Annat-burn and Annat-glen in the parish of Kilmadock, Perthshire.

In North Uist, a larger island contiguous to Calligray and Berneray, "is a church called Teampul-na-Trianade, or Trinity Temple," which, the clergyman of the parish in 1794 goes on to say, "tradition gives out to be the oldest building of the kind in the Highlands. What corroborates this tradition is, that from the circumstance of its being dedicated to

we have not in this paragraph of the statistical account of the parish of Harris, written by the clergyman in 1794, the name of one of the heathen objects of Gaelic worship ; and if so, whether we can, with any probability, define the nature of that worship, or identify Annait of the Western Isles with Anaitis, a deity whose worship extended from Persia to the westward in various countries of Asia—in Assyria, Cappadocia, Armenia, and in the Phœnician colonies in Africa.

Strabo had himself witnessed the worship of Anaitis in Persia, and describes some of the ceremonies of the Magi in its performance, adding that there was a shrine within the temple. He also mentions another temple to the same divinity, but calls her the goddess Anæa. He describes a temple reared by the Persians to Anaitis on an artificial mound, which they heaped over a rock in the plain where they had defeated the Sacæ near the Euxine ; and he adds that the Persian deities Anaitis, Omanus, and Anadatus[1] have a common altar.

Pliny says the first solid statue of gold was erected in the

the Trinity, it seems to have been built before the Romish calendar was made known in those parts ; all churches built since that period being dedicated to saints."

It seems not improbable that here was, prior to Christianity, another temple of Annait. From the time of the first introduction of Christianity there was always a supply of saints' names ready for churches, viz., of those zealous missionaries who converted the people from heathenism. The word for the Trinity is usually written Trionaid, not Trianade, and was of course introduced into the Gaelic by the Christians. But the above tradition and the name Teampul-na-Trianade are easily reconcilable with its being the site of a Teampull-na-h-Annait, like that on the neighbouring isle of Calligray.

In his fourth chapter Richard of Cirencester mentions Andate as one of the gods worshipped by the Britons and the Druids.

temple of the goddess Anaitis, and he mentions a district and a lake which probably derived their names from this divinity.

The Temple of Nanea, in Persia, and the priests of her temple, are mentioned in the Maccabees.[1]

Nania, the moon goddess, is one of the most ancient objects of worship in the Indian peninsula.[2]

Some of the Greek writers identified Anaitis with their Artemis, and Artemis with the moon,[3] and with Hecate as a goddess of the moon.

These remarks have reference to that remnant of antiquity, the temple of Annait, in the islet of Calligray; the following regards another ancient monument in the neighbouring islet of Berneray. This monument consists of a circle somewhat less than ten feet in diameter, defined by long sharp-pointed stones. In the centre is a stone about five feet in height, of a conical form, but inverted, the narrow end being fixed in the ground, and the top being broad and flat. "It is to this day," says the reverend author of the statistical account of the parish, "called Clach-na-Greine, the Stone of the Sun."[4] In the same parish of Harris are other two circles of rather larger size, the centre stones being also of a different form—long, flat, and raised eight feet above the ground.[5]

[1] 2 Maccabees i. 13, 14, 15.

[2] Mao, the moon god; Nania, the moon goddess.

Mani, a male, the moon; in the prose, Edda.—Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, p. 407.

[3] See also the articles "Anaitis," "Artemis," and "Hecate" in Smith's *Mythological Dictionary*.

[4] In Jura there is Bein-an-Ghrianan, or Mountain of the Sun.—Pennant's *Voyage to Scotland*, vol. i. p. 330.

[5] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*,

From these circumstances it might be inferred that the temple of Annait was connected with planetary worship. The rites of Anaitis have generally been considered to be of an obscene nature, and her worship is acknowledged to be of Indian origin.[1]

The name of the goddess Tanat-Tanith or Tanas appears in nearly every inscription on Punic monuments. Tanith was looked on as the Greek Artemis—the Oriental Artemis, Anaietis of the Lydians.[2]

A common form of commencement in the inscriptions found at Carthage on votive tablets is "To the Goddess—To Tanath, the countenance of Baal," etc. etc.,[3] and the circle and crescent are the commonly-sculptured emblems on such Carthaginian monuments.

vol. x. p. 374. Compare these with monuments still existing in Persia, and alluded to in the chapter on "Asiatic and Celtic Monuments."

[1] Smith's *Mythological Dictionary*.

[2] Article by Mr. Franks in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. Artaxerxes II. set up the image of Aphrodite Tanais in Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana.

[3] Davies' *Researches in Carthage* p. 267.

CHAPTER V.

SOLAR AND PLANETARY WORSHIP IN BRITAIN AND CALEDONIA.

THE SUN, BAAL, BEL[1]—General Worship of Light—Solar and Planetary Worship—Sacrifice of the Cock—Philological affinities—Baal and Bel in various Eastern Languages, as well as in the Celtic Dialects—Great heathen Festival of Yeul—Its Ceremonies—Passing Children through the Fire, or exposing them on the House-tops—People and Cattle passing through the Fire—Ordeal by Fire and Water—Pre-eminence of the East—Illustrated by the great rock-cut Temple of Karli—Buddhist Services, Practices, and Ceremonies—Position of Temples originally referred to the Worship of Light and the Sun—Bel-Tein, Fire of Bel—Bel-Tein day—Beltein Ceremonies—Offerings to Inferior Deities—Fastern Even a Celtic Festival, also a Phœnician—Game of Ball—Soule—Other Ceremonies—Carn Fires—Hallowe'en a Celtic Festival—Ceremonies practised then, and Fires lighted—Tin-Egin—Midsummer Eve a Celtic Festival—Peculiar Ceremonies—Flannan Isles—Deasoil Processions.—ASTARTE, ASHTORETH, THE MOON—Worship of the Moon—Superstitious Rites not yet extinct—Homage to "the Queen of Heaven" in various forms.

FROM Dondera-head in Ceylon to the Himalaya Mountains, and from the borders of China to the extremities of Western Europe and its islands, we find clear evidence of the former prevalence of the earliest form of false worship, viz., the adoration of light, the sun, and "the whole host of heaven." In the Rajpoot state of Marwar,[2] in its capital

[1] Baal, Bel, Belus, Belenus. In Celtic, *Beal*, *Beil*, *Beul* (*Gaelic Dictionary*); *Abellion* (Smith's *Mythological Dictionary*).

[2] In a ruined and deserted marble temple near the base of Mount Aboo in Rajasthan I remarked a beautiful representation of the sun-god in his car, drawn by seven horses. The sculpture was in alto-relievo.

Asa took from the cities of Judah the sun images (2d Chron. xiv. 5),

Udayapoor, "the City of the Rising Sun," the precedence of Surya, the sun god, is still maintained. The sacred standard of the country bears his image, and the Raja, claiming to be his descendant, appears as his representative.[1]

In a complicated form the Parsees of British India still retain that worship of light, symbolised in the sun and fire, for which they became exiles when their fire-altars were overthrown and their faith was proscribed in the land of their ancestors.[2] More than twenty centuries have passed since the religion of Gautama Buddha was generally and enthusiastically received and firmly established in Ceylon, where it has ever since, with short interruptions, remained the religion of the state and the people. It then superseded, although it has never been able to eradicate, the Bali, planetary worship, which co-existed with the Naga or snake worship in that country. There also, besides a veneration for ancestors, the aborigines believed in invisible powers and controlling spirits of limited influence and local celebrity. Fountains and streams—trees and forests—rocks and mountains—had their genii, and various forms of pestilence were attributed to the malignant influence of demons. From notices in ancient authors,[3] Roman inscriptions,[4] and remaining super-

but the idolatry remained. Chariots and horses given by the kings of Judah to the sun were removed and destroyed by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 1-11). For the continuance of this idolatry see Jeremiah viii. 1-2.

[1] Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan.*

[2] Remains of these temples, similar to Cyclopean remains in Britain, are noticed under the head of "Monuments in Persia."

[3] Referred to in the chapter on the "Early Religion of the Inhabitants of Britain."

[4] Stewart's *Caledonia Romana;* Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon; Early Inhabitants of Britain,* c. ix.

stitions,[1] it would appear that the heathen inhabitants of Britain worshipped an equally numerous and nearly identical accumulation of objects.

Ceylon having escaped Brahmanical usurpation and Mohammedan conquest, may account for the primitive false worship being there found in general estimation; for although openly disowned, it is secretly practised, not only by persons who are Buddhists, but by many who profess themselves Christians. Buddhism, as already observed, has been the religion of the Cingalese for upwards of two thousand years; and from the numerous relics of Gautama brought to Ceylon it is considered a holy land by his followers. Christianity, in various forms, has been long introduced into the island, and numbers those who have received the initiary sacrament by hundreds of thousands; yet it is remarkable that neither the Buddhist priest nor the Christian pastor has succeeded in eradicating from the minds of their professed adherents a belief in the efficacy of the Bali rites. Forbidden to the followers of Gautama Buddha, and opposed to Christianity, the tenacity with which it has maintained its hold on the minds of the Cingalese is, however remarkable, not without a parallel, as similar superstitions continued to exist in Britain despite of edicts, civil and ecclesiastical, and of penalties more severe than any tolerated by the religion of Buddha.[2] The policy of new reli-

[1] In the article on "Customs and Superstitions" these are more fully explained.

[2] Witchcraft is heathenism, yet its tricks were practised by early Christian saints. It was not punished with death until the fourteenth century, when the ecclesiastical tribunals classed it as heresy, and obtained power of judgment in such cases. After that, acts blazoned by ecclesiastics as miracles when practised by themselves, were

gions that excluded preceding objects of worship from their schemes has usually been to denounce former deities as demons. By so doing, the new religion having admitted the entity, has perpetuated a belief in the continued existence of these beings, and given them a duration commensurate with the system by which they were superseded.

Bali is the word used in Ceylon to express the adoration of the heavenly bodies, and the propitiatory offerings and sacrifices that form part of the ceremonies in that worship. The victim sacrificed is generally a cock. In Sale's *Introduction to the Koran*[1] he states that the idolatry of the Arabs, as Sabians, previous to Mohammed, chiefly consisted in worshipping the fixed stars and planets; also that at their various places of pilgrimage the Arabs sacrificed a cock. Cocks were the objects which witches in Great Britain were generally accused of sacrificing;[2]

found heathenish and heretical when attributed to ignorant and unprivileged laymen; and against them the halter and the fagot were decreed by beings who professed themselves Christians, and were acknowledged as the teachers of Christianity.

[1] Sale's *Koran*, p. 11.

[2] See trial of Dame Alice Kyteler in 1324, who was accused before her enemy the Bishop of Ossory of sacrificing nine red cocks at cross-roads near Kilkenny (published by Camden Society in 1843).

See also the trials of Christian Sadleir and Christian Livingstone in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 25, etc.

"In Scotland burying a live cock is described as a remedy for insanity" (Sir J. Graham Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 190). The same remedy has, *even in late years*, been resorted to for epileptic fits both in the north of Scotland and in Cornwall. Pennant, in his *Tour in Wales*, vol. ii. p. 15, mentions the sacrifice of a cock, along with the procession of an epileptic patient three times round a consecrated well at Llandegla, in Denbighshire. The patient had also to wash and leave an offering in the well. The bird to be sacrificed was not only carried thrice round the well, but thrice round the neighbouring church. In it the patient had to pass the night under the communion-table, with his head resting on the Bible, and to depart in the morning, leaving an offering of sixpence.

and it may be here well to repeat that the cock was especially sacred to Helios, the sun.

Baliya[1] is the Cingalese name of images of clay, made for the occasion, and generally destroyed at the conclusion of the incantations in Bali ceremonies.[2] The image is supposed to represent the controlling planet of the individual for whom the rites are prepared, and which, from their nature, are directed by the astrologer to whom the votary has confided his horoscope.

Cæsar refers to the Druids of Gaul and Britain as teaching many things concerning the motion of the heavenly bodies. Pomponius Mela says the Druids professed to know the motions of the heavens and the stars and the intentions of the immortal gods ; and Pliny mentions how intensely addicted these priests were to magical arts of the same nature as those practised by the Persians. Thus we have a concurrence of direct testimony to the planetary worship and divination which afterwards in Britain successively bore the names of sorcery, heresy, witchcraft, and superstition.

Since the modern discoveries in comparative philology have been made generally available,[3] I feel no doubt that an attempt to identify expressions in planetary worship that are common to the language of Ceylon and to the Celtic

[1] Baliya seems to be very similar to the Teraphim.

[2] It would appear that the earliest images of the Roman gods were formed of wood or earthenware, and that the statue erected to Jupiter in the Capitol by Tarquinius Priscus was of clay.—Pliny, *Natural History*, b. xxxiv. c. 16, and b. xxxv. c. 45.

[3] By Professors Wilson and Eastwick's translation of Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, and Pritchard and Latham's *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*.

dialects of Europe will not be regarded with unreasonable scepticism.[1]

Bel,[2] in Cingalese, signifies power, might, authority; Baal, Bel, Belus, in Assyria, Palestine, and Phœnicia, implies dominion, and became equivalent in use to supreme god, ruler.[3] In all these countries the expression is also connected with

[1] Very many words are nearly identical in their application and in their formation in the Cingalese and the Celtic languages. This, considering that the former is so much derived from Sanscrit and Pali, will not be thought, after recent philological discoveries, to require explanation—neither to be a matter for wonder—notwithstanding the relative geographical position of the countries in which these languages are spoken. I may merely mention a few words having a derivation common to the Cingalese and Celtic languages—God, death, king, virtuous, triumphant, light, the sun, the moon, the stars, a man, a lord, a woman, water, a tree, a cave—almost all the personal relations, and the numerals.

The numerals, as expressed in Sanscrit, have unmistakeably a common origin with those of the Celtic dialects. But the question has been asked, "May not the numerals have been introduced into Britain subsequent to the Christian era?" No one can give an authoritative answer to this question, which, it is presumed, is meant to imply that the numerals were imposed on the Celtic language after the Roman invasion. This appears to be most improbable; for it cannot be supposed that the Druids, with their knowledge of the heavenly bodies, and using alphabetical characters, were without words to express the common numbers. Neither have we any reason to suppose that the Irish, whose country was never assailed by the Romans, nor the Caledonians, whose country they were unable thoroughly to subdue or to retain, received from them the words for those simple numbers, which must be amongst the first requirements of beings endowed with the faculty of speech.

The numerals, as expressed in the Sanscrit and Celtic languages, are evidently derived from a common source. The figures now in use to represent the digits in Europe were derived from the Arabs, who acquired them from India (Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, by Thomas); and it has been lately advanced that the Hindus derived them from the Chinese.—Wilson's *India Three Thousand Years Ago*.

In the tablets found in the camp of the Helvetii when they were defeated by Cæsar, B.C. 58, the people were numbered up to 368,000, of whom 92,000 were fighting men.

[2] Bél, plural of Béla, power, strength, force, dignity, might, authority.

[3] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 298, 299.

light and the worship of the heavenly bodies, more particularly of the sun.[1]

Bel or Belinus—Apollo,[2] was a principal divinity of the heathen Britons and their Celtic kindred in Gaul, as well as of the Assyrians and Phœnicians. In Brittany there is the

[1] Bhá and Bhála, light, effulgence, excellence; Bali, sidereal worship; Baliya, image made to represent any particular planet to which the sacrifice is offered. The Baalim of the Assyrians and Canaanites appear to have been the same as the Cingalese Baliya (see Judges ii. 11, 13).

[2] "Belinus, the same as Apollo" (*Lexicon* of Petrocus); Belinus, a divinity of the Gauls (Ausonius), the same as the Apollo of the Greeks and the Horus of the Egyptians; Orus or Horus, the emblem of the sun (Lemprière's *Dictionary*, "Belenus"); Orus, they say, is, by interpretation, Apollo (Diodorus Siculus, b. i.); Orus, whom the Greeks call Apollo (Herodot. *Euterpe*, cxliv.); Apollo, Ceres, and Diana, the Egyptians call Orus, Isis, and Bubastis (Herodot. *Euterpe*, clvi.) "Bel is confounded" (Jer. iv. 2). "I will punish Bel in Babylon" (Jer. xli. 44). Vossius says Apollo was called Belinus, and quotes Herodian and an inscription at Aquileia, viz., "Apollini Belino."—Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by Ellis, p. 134).

On the reverse of a coin of the British king Cunobeline is a figure of Apollo playing on the lyre. On this coin Alford remarks "that the Britons worshipped Apollo under the name of Belus or Belinus. This king, Cunobeline, is by Dio and Nennius called Belinus (see also "Abellio" in Smith's *Mythological Dictionary*).

"That the ancient Gauls worshipped Apollo under the name of Belinus is confirmed by Dioscorides, who expressly says that the *Herba Apollinaris* (in the juice whereof the Gauls used to dip their arrows) was called in Gaulish "Bellinuncia."—Camden's *Britannia*, 4th ed. p. 58. See also Samme's *Ancient Britain*, p. 130, 1676, folio, where, he adds, the plant is still called Veleno by the Spaniards. By Pliny it is called "Apollinaris, in the Greek Hyoscyamos," henbane (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* b. xxv. c. 17).

Beli is the sun in the language of Assam (see Latham's *Ethnology*, vol. ii. p. 395).

From Ausonius to Patera:—

"Tu Baiocassis stirpe Druidarum satus
(Si fama non fallit fidem)
Belini sacratum ducis è templo genus:
Et inde vobis nomina;
Tibi Pateræ (sic ministros nuncupant
Apollinaris mystici)."

Baiocasses, a Celtic people; believed to be the same as Bodiocasses of Pliny (iv. 18). Bayeux is supposed to represent Baiocasses.—Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

Ausonius has also to Phœbitius:—

"Qui (Phœbicius) Beleni Æduituus,
Stirpe Satus Druidum
Gentis Armoricæ."

commune of Belz; and the great tumulus there, although now crowned by the chapel of St. Cedo, is, by tradition, pointed out as being once the chief seats of the worship of the god Bel. It is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cyclopean remains of Carnac and other wondrous monuments of heathen worship. Belich is a word still used by the Bretons for a priest; and in Cornish, Belic (priest), Belein (priests), Beal tine[1] (fires lighted to Belus), show that the word was in use in other Celtic dialects.

The name and the worship of Baal or Bel[2] can be traced in many intermediate countries, as well as in Ceylon and India, Gaul and Britain, and was also used as an honorary addition to the names of kings and great families or individuals. It is common in distinguished names of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, and forms part of the names of the two earliest British kings known to history, viz., Cassibelan and Cunobeline—both of whom, by two early authors, are simply called Belinus.[3] Bellovesus, nephew of Ambigatus, the king of the Celts in Gaul in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, is mentioned by Livy.

From the Rig Veda we learn that light, the sun, and fire, were amongst the earliest objects of Arian worship.[4] In an-

[1] Borlase's *Cornish Vocabulary*.

[2] Baal, the Lord, was used for the true God until confusion arose from the same epithet being applied to pagan gods worshipped by Jews and Canaanites.—Hosea ii. 16; Prideaux, etc. etc.

[3] By Dio and Nennius. If Geoffrey of Monmouth is admitted as an authority, there was a third British king Belinus. In the *British Bards* "the victorious Beli" is invoked.

[4] "The sun is the soul of all that moves or rests." The sun is also called "the vital spirit."—Max Müller's *Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, p. 20.

other chapter are notices of the adoration of the sun that still prevails amongst some, possibly among all, of the aboriginal tribes of India.[1] Some additional proofs will now be offered regarding the worship of the sun, and fire, its representative, by our heathen ancestors in Britain, whose ancient rites, although they have gradually declined into quaint customs and vulgar superstitions, have possessed such tenacity that they not only continued in despite of power and punishment, but have not been effaced by time and civilisation.

It is important, as a prelude to the description of rites in a worship common to the early inhabitants of the Indian peninsula and to the Celtic population of Gaul and Britain, to refer to the cognate expressions which they employed for the objects of their adoration. In Cingalese, Ja, Jwala, signifies light, lustre, flame; Jwalana, light; also Agni, or personified and deified fire. Eliya is also Cingalese for light; in Welsh, Lleuer and Lleuad, the moon; in Gaelic, Eibhle, anything on fire. In Sanscrit, Jwálá or Jwala signifies light, flame; in Cornish, Gwawl; in Welsh, Goleu; in Armorican, Goleu. In Gaelic, Geal and Eallaidhe is white;[2] Soillse,[3] light, sunlight; Suil,[3] the eye. In Cingalese, Haili and Hel, and in Sanscrit, Heli or Helis is the sun. In Welsh it is Haul, pronounced Hail; in Armorican, Haul and Heol; in

[1] Viz., *Customs and Superstitions common to India and Caledonia.*

[2] Also "the moon."

[3] H is not used in Gaelic as the initial letter of any word. In these two words S occupies the place which is filled by H in the words that follow from Sanscrit and Celtic. The word written Suil, in Gaelic is pronounced Huil.—Paper on an old Gaelic Poem, by the Rev. Thomas M'Lauchlan, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 368.

Cornish, Houl and Heul. The great festival of heathen Britain—viz., Yeul—was celebrated at that period of the year when the sun, having obtained the greatest distance from the earth, commenced his return to restore warmth and to revivify nature. Although Christmas superseded the heathen festival, not only the ancient name of Yeul, but many of the customs, evidently connected with the heathen rites, are not yet obsolete in South Britain ;[1] and in Scotland, at least in the more remote parts, and in agricultural districts, Yeul is still the word in general use for Christmas Day.

From the *Penitential* of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the seventh century, and the *Confessional* of Ecgbert, Archbishop of York, in the early part of the eighth century, we may infer that homage was then offered to the sun and moon ; for women are forbidden to practise passing their children through the fire, or exposing them on the house-tops, to restore or insure their health.[2] It is curious to compare these restrictions and penalties to be enforced by English

[1] The Yeul feast and Yeul log can be clearly traced to their original source. The blaze of lights, and the kindling of the great Yule log on Christmas Eve by a portion of the Yule brand of the former year, is as clearly a heathen ceremony, and for the same object of worship, as the fires on Midsummer Eve. As to the feast, in times comparatively recent the Greenlanders held a sun-feast at the winter solstice, to rejoice in the commencement of returning light and warmth.

From Teinidh and Tein, Irish and Gaelic for fire, is probably derived the obsolete English word "to teend." Herrick, speaking of the Christmas brand, says "part must be kept wherewith to *teend* the Christmas by next year."—Hone's *Every-day Book*, vol. i. p. 204.

Changing pagan festivals into Christian holidays was practised and approved, "the better to draw heathens to the religion of Christ."—See Dr. Conyers Middleton's *Letter from Rome*, particularly p. 126.

[2] "Si qua mulier filium suum vel filiam super tectum pro sanitate posuerit, vel in fornace, vii. annos poeniteat."—Theodori Arch. Cant. *Lib. Po-*

ecclesiastical authorities with the denunciation of the same heathen practices by the prophet Zephaniah[1]—"I will cut off the remnant of Baal, and them that worship the host of heaven upon the house-tops."

Edmund Spencer, in his *Dialogues from Ireland*, written about 1596, states, that at the kindling of fire and the lighting of candles the Scots and Irish use superstitious rites, which show that they honour fire and light.[2] From another authority we find that the Irish, when they put out a candle, were in use to say, "May the Lord renew or send us the light of heaven."[3]

In Scotland there was a practice, described by an eye-witness, that after a child was baptized, and on the return of the party from church, the infant was swayed three times gently over a flame;[4] or, according to another authority, the child was handed three times across the fire.[5] In Perthshire, in cases of private baptism, there was a custom of passing the child three times round the crook which was suspended over the centre of the fire.[6]

enit. xxvii. 14; Ecgberti, Arch. Ebor. *Confession.* xxxiii.; Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. ii. pp. 33, 157.

[1] Zephaniah i. 4, 5.

[2] Edmund Spencer's *Dialogues on Ireland*, p. 4.

[3] Sir H. Ellis' Notes to "Candle Omens," Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, iii. 95.

[4] Dr. Moresin, quoted by Sir. H. Ellis in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ii. 48, 49.

[5] Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, ii. 46. In Sardinia, we are told by Forester that on St. John's Eve great fires were lighted, over which alliances were formed by passing the hands of the parties, each holding a stick, three times through the flame. These are supposed to be remnants of Phœnician rites, introduced by them when they established themselves in the island thirty-five centuries ago.—Forester's *Sardinia*, p. 334. See also La Marmora's and Tyndale's works on Sardinia.

[6] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, "Parish of Logierait, Perthshire," vol. v. p. 83.

In many parts of Ireland, in the last century, on Bel-tine day, men, women, children, and cattle were passed through a fire lighted for that purpose.[1] O'Brien says that "Beal-tine (May-day) was so called from large fires which the Druids were used to light on the summits of the hills,[2] into which fires they drove four-footed beasts, and also made use of various ceremonies to expiate the sins of the people." He also states that the ceremony of lighting these fires in honour of the god Belus gave name to the month of May, which is to this day called in the Irish language Mi-na-Beal-tine.

Dr. Keating, speaking of this fire of Beal, says that the cattle were driven through it, and not sacrificed; and that the chief object of the ceremony was to preserve the animals from contagious disorders for that year. He also states that all the inhabitants of Ireland quenched their fires on Beal-tine day, and kindled them again from the fire of Beal. Dr. Keating adds, quoting from an ancient glossary, that the Druids lighted two solemn fires every year, through which all animals were passed to preserve them from disease. The circumstances thus recorded by Irish authorities will be found corroborated by similar customs which existed in Scotland, and are noticed under the head of "Bel-tein."

With the Jews and Canaanites passing through the fire

[1] *Collect. de Rebus Hibern.* vol. ii. p. 65. Toland, an eye-witness, describes the people in Ireland passing through the fires lighted on St John's Eve (Midsummer). The people, he says, believed themselves in a special manner blest by this ceremony, but were entirely ignorant of its heathen origin.—Toland's *History of the Druids*, p. 112, edit. 1815.

[2] For more particulars regarding the fire of Baal or Bel, and festivals and customs connected with that worship, see the article "Beltein."

to Baal or Moloch may sometimes mean an act of purification or expiation; but it undoubtedly expressed the act of sacrificing human victims by fire as a religious rite to that god.[1] That abomination in the case of the Jews, with their actual knowledge and high pretensions, was infinitely more heinous than the same acts committed by their heathen neighbours, or by our predecessors in Britain.

Ordeal by fire and by water was generally practised in many countries of Asia and Europe, and would appear to be derived from sun and fire worship. It was not abolished in the law courts of Britain until the reign of Henry III.;[2] and the barbarous ignorance of some of our countrymen has refused, even in the present age, to sanction the wisdom of that act. In England to this day there are many persons who believe that some infirm old woman of their neighbourhood possesses supernatural power and malignant influence. They next defame her as a witch; and lastly, the ferocity engendered of fear and ignorance would lead them—did not a timely vision of the gallows bar their path—to commit murder by the ordeal of water.[3]

The position of religious temples—both Christian and heathen—has generally reference to the east as preëminent

[1] Deut. xii. 31; Ps. xvi. 37; Is. lvii. 5; Ezek. xvi. 20, 21; xxiii. 37; Jer. vii. 3; xix. 5. From this last chapter we find that it was to Baal the Jews sacrificed their children as burnt-offerings. It was not to Baal, or Moloch, that Jephtha sacrificed his daughter.

[2] Cowel's *Law Terms*, article "Ordel;" Skene's *De Verb. Signif.* article "Mahamium."

[3] See article on "Fountains" for the connection between the worship of the sun and water. See account of proceedings at Great Paxton in Huntingdonshire in 1808, in Hone's *Every-day Book*, vol. ii. pp. 91, 92.

over other points of the compass. The position of the Christian churches, extending east and west, with the altar or special object of worship in the east, is an arrangement that may be recognised in many heathen temples—even those erected prior to the Christian era. The Cyclopean fanes have generally reference to the east; but as they are treated of in a separate chapter, another illustration is now given in the great rock-cut temple of Karli in the Dekhan of India.[1] This work, from the peculiar nature of the rock, and its imperishable form of construction, has withstood the usual decay incident to the works of man executed twenty centuries ago, and desecrated and neglected for more than a thousand years;—that is, from the time when a comparatively pure system in Buddhist morality[2] succumbed to vile superstitions urged by the energetic priestcraft of Brahmans.

In the Temple of Karli, hewn from the hard and solid rock, we find not only a position but a form nearly identical with that of the choir in most of our Christian cathedrals. Entering from the west, you find yourself beneath the music gallery, and see extended before you a nave, separated from a surrounding aisle by a line of laboriously-sculptured columns, apparently supporting a lofty arched roof[3] terminating in a circular apse, under which, in the east, is the receptacle of the

[1] The opening of the Great Peninsular Railway will bring this wonderful monument of labour and of the Buddhist religion within two hours' journey of Bombay. It is only a mile from the railway.

[2] Buddhism, weak and inoperative as a religion, is unimpeachable as a system of morality.

[3] The arches are of a very peculiar form, like an elongated horse-shoe. They are lined with ribs of teak-wood, said to be coeval with the excavation. This seems improbable, but not im-

relic. In the early days of Buddhism, B.C. 543, at the great convocation of priests held at Rájamáhl, after the funeral obsequies of Gautama Buddha had been completed, the high-priest occupied a throne on the north side of the hall of assembly; and the pulpit for the preacher was raised in the centre, and faced the east.[1]

If we turn from more material arrangements to the religious services of the Buddhists, we find that portions are chaunted and the prayers intoned; and that in the Buddhist ritual they have a ceremony when a penitent, after reviewing his former actions, vows future adherence to the commandments and moral laws of Buddha.[2] Confession was also practised. Lectures were given in the temples; and besides the daily service there was a weekly assembly for religious purposes.[3] There was also a season more particularly devoted to religious teaching, during which daily homilies were delivered.[4] Censers and incense were used in the temples, and holy water was sprinkled on the worshippers. The

possible, if Pliny is correct in stating that the beams in the temple of Apollo at Utica were in perfect preservation in his time, although they had then endured 1178 years. These teak-wood ribs at Karli being utterly useless as a support, were doubtless placed there that cloths or other objects of decoration might be attached. This would fix the date of the erection, or last renewal of these timbers, as previous to the period when the Brahman ascendancy was re-established in the Dekhan.

Since these remarks were written the extraordinary exemption of teak-wood from mildew or decay has been pointed out by Dr. Calvert, F.R.S., at a meeting of the British Association.

[1] *The Mahawonso, in Pali and English*, by the Hon. G. Turnour, Ceylon, pp. xxix. and 12.

[2] Called Sil or Seela in Ceylon.

[3] In Cingalese called Poeya.

[4] Called in Cingalese Was.

Buddhist system included religious of both sexes, dedicated to sacred rites, and enjoined a rigid morality so long as they chose to retain the peculiar and honourable yellow robe by which they were distinguished. These priests and priestesses made vows of celibacy, and had separate places of residence.

In the history of this religion of peace and morality, which in so many of its forms preceded Christianity, there does not appear any satisfactory explanation why the east was selected as the most sacred point. Neither has any sufficient reason been given why Christian churches are usually arranged with regard to that point of the compass.

In treating of peculiarities in forms of interment, and the position of the skeleton found in ancient places of sepulture, it has been asserted that the bones being disposed at length, with the head to the west, prove the remains to be those of a Christian; placed thus "that he might look to the point from whence he expected the SAVIOUR at his second coming." Even in Britain such a position of the skeleton found in ancient cemeteries is not a sufficient proof that the bones were those of a Christian, and various heathen nations bury their dead with the body extended from west to east.[1]

In the absence of any better reason, it may be presumed that the preëminence accorded to the east is owing to its being the quarter whence the light of day first appears, and the early and general prevalence of the worship of light and the sun, to which Gildas no doubt refers when, in treating of

[1] The Buddhists of Ceylon, amongst others.

the paganism of the Britons, he mentions "those ancient errors common to all the nations of the earth."

In Scotland Beltane,[1] "the fire of Bel," was also the name of a festival usually celebrated on May-day, old style. In other Celtic countries of Western Europe the same expression, with slight variations in sound, was also used for the great heathen festival which was held about the beginning of the month of May. Beltane is also used to express the fires that were kindled in honour of Bel on that and other days connected with his worship,[2] as on Midsummer Eve, afterwards called the vigil of St. John, on All-Hallowe'en, and on Yeule, which is now Christmas. Of the ceremonies practised at Beltane, and continued almost to our own times, the most remarkable and general were the fires lighted in honour of Bel. Offerings made and superstitious ceremonies performed at fountains,

[1] Beltan or Beltane is mentioned as a festival in *Acts of Scottish Parliament*, A.D. 1424 and 1427, vol. ii. pp. 6-51. Beltane-day on 4th May 1865.—Oliver and Boyd's *Almanac*.

[2] La Beltein, in Gaelic, day of Bel's fire. Bel is a name of the sun in Gaul (*Herod.* lib. 8, xxx.; Rev. D. M'Queen of Skye in Pennant's *Scotland*, ii. 436). In Irish, La Bel-tine, the month of May; La-na Bel-tina, May-day; Neen-na Bel-tina, the eve of Bel's fire; Bel-tine, Bel's fire. Beal-tine, Bel's fire (Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*). Beltane, from Baal or Belis, the sun, and tein, fire; Beltan, fire of Bel (Polwhele's *Cornwall*, vol. i. pp. 49, 203). Fire in Welsh and Cornish is Tan; in Irish, Teinidh; in Gaelic, Tein. Bell-tine, or Bell-taine, fires made with great incantations by the Druids, between which the cattle were passed to secure them against disease.—Ancient Irish Glossary in Petrie's *Round Towers of Ireland*, pp. 37, 38.

On the 1st May, in Caithness, Beltein ceremonies were performed Beltein was also kept in Moray.—Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 206, 311.

On Beltane-day (3d May 1860) Mr. Robertson was elected Convener of the Trades of Canongate in Edinburgh (*Scotsman* daily newspaper, 4th May 1860). On Beltane-day (3d May 1861) the weavers, dyers, etc., of the Canongate re-elected their office-bearers. —*Edinburgh Courant*, 4th May 1861.

are also rites of our pagan ancestors which have descended to the present day, not being yet extinct either in Great Britain or in Ireland. Fountains will be treated of separately, and Beltane ceremonies will now be noticed, which, although more evidently, are not more certainly connected with sun-worship than the adoration of fountains.

Kindling fires at Beltane, on the hills and conspicuous places in level districts, was so universal in Scotland—also in Ireland and Cornwall—that it is unnecessary to refer to records for proof of events which may still be witnessed in this year 1865. Conjoined with Apollo in the inscription on a Roman altar found at Inveresk is an epithet bearing a considerable resemblance to the name of the sun in Gaelic. Apollini-Granno[1] is the commencement of the inscription. Grian or Greine is the sun in Gaelic, and Grianach is "the sunny."[2] This resemblance it is as well to notice, for epithets not similar in sound but identical in meaning are used for Apollo or the sun by classic authors and the Scottish Celts; as Gruagach, the *fair-haired.* Enclosures called Grianan or Greinham, "the house of the sun,"[3] where the people worshipped the sun, are to be met with everywhere. On the Gruagach stones libations of milk were poured.[4] A clergyman of the Western Isles says that about a century ago (this was in 1774) Gruagach got credit for being the father of a child at

[1] *Caledonia Romana*, folio 1852, p. 159.

[2] Strabo says that Gryneus is a name of Apollo.

[3] Higgins, in his *Celtic Druids*, mentions a Kistvæn near Cloyne in Ireland, called Carig-croith, or "sun's house" (p. 217).

[4] Rev. Donald M'Queen in Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 437, 438.

Shulista, near Duntulme, the seat of M'Donald. Gruagach, the sun, was represented by certain rude stones of large size. On the island of Bernera, in the parish of Harris, a circle, defined by long sharp-pointed stones, has in the centre a stone in form of an inverted pyramid, called Clach-na-Greine, "the stone of the sun."[1]

At Tillie Beltane, the eminence or rising-ground of the fire of Bel, there are the remains of a Druidical temple, consisting of eight stones, where it is supposed the fire was kindled. At some distance is a smaller temple, and near it a well, still held in great veneration. On Beltane morning superstitious people go to this well and drink of it; then make a procession round it nine times. After this they in like manner go round the temple. So deep-rooted is this heathenish superstition in the minds of many who reckon themselves good Protestants, that they will not neglect these rites even when Beltane falls on a Sabbath.[2]

In the old statistical account of the parish of Callander, which was written towards the end of the last century,[3] the author has given an account of two ceremonies of peculiar interest, which he says "are fast wearing out, and therefore ought to be taken notice of whilst they remain."[4] "On the first day of May, which is called Baltein or Beltan-day, all the

[1] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, x. 374.

[2] Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, article "Beltane;" and account of the parishes of Cargill, Callander, Logierait, Loudons, etc., in *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*.

[3] In 1794, by the Rev. James Robertson, the minister of the parish, vol. xi. pp. 620, 621.

[4] For similar customs still in use in Sardinia, and supposed to be of Phœnician origin, see the article on the Phœnicians.

boys in a township or hamlet meet in the moors. They cut a table in the green sod of a round figure, by casting a trench in the ground of such circumference as to hold the whole company. They kindle a fire and dress a repast of eggs and milk in the consistence of a custard. They knead a cake of oatmeal, which is toasted at the embers against a stone. After the custard is eaten up, they divide the cake into so many portions, as similar as possible to one another in size and shape, as there are persons in the company. They daub one of these portions all over with charcoal until it be perfectly black. They put all the bits of cake into a bonnet. Every one, blindfold, draws out a portion. He who holds the bonnet is entitled to the last bit. Whoever draws the black bit is the devoted person who is to be sacrificed to Baal, whose favour they mean to implore in rendering the year productive of the sustenance of man and beast. There is little doubt of human sacrifices having been once offered in this country as well as in the East, although they now pass from the act of sacrificing, and only compel the devoted person to leap three times through the flames, with which the ceremonies of this festival are concluded."

Pennant, in his *Tour in Scotland*, gives an account of a different form of sacrifice practised by herdsmen at Beltane,[1] the supernatural beings addressed being apparently demons or deities of an inferior order. The herdsmen formed a square trench,[2]

[1] *Tour in Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 110, 111. See also "Parish of Logierait, Perthshire," *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 84.

[2] In some parts of Britain, particularly Cornwall, there are remains of ancient stone enclosures of a square form. In some parts of the Dekhan

leaving the turf in the middle. They next lighted a fire and cooked a dish composed of eggs, butter, oatmeal, and milk. They had also oatmeal cakes, on which were raised nine square knobs.[1] The ceremonies then began by spilling as a libation some of the dish prepared with eggs and milk. Each of the knobs on the cakes was dedicated to some particular being,[2] the supposed protector of their flocks and herds, or to some particular animal, the real destroyer of them. Each person, turning his face to the fire, broke off a knob from his cake, and flinging it over his shoulder,[3] said—"This I give to thee; preserve thou my horses—This I give to thee; preserve thou my sheep," and so on. After that they used the same ceremonies to the noxious animals, saying—"This I give to thee, O Fox! spare thou my lambs—This I give to thee, O Hooded Crow!—This to thee, O Eagle," etc.

of India the primitive temples, marked by rude monoliths, are also of a square or oblong shape.

[1] The belief that the number nine is influential appears in many of the superstitions of Scotland. The same idea prevails in various Asiatic countries. Various proofs of this are quoted in Sir John Grahame Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 393, 394.

Nine is also a common number of the columnar stones in the best preserved cromlechs of certain localities.

[2] It is unfortunate that Pennant has not also recorded the names of the beings supposed by the herdsmen to be the tutelary deities of domestic animals.

[3] In Scotland throwing salt over the left shoulder is still practised in order to propitiate certain inferior spirits, which superstitious persons imagine they may have unintentionally offended.

The custom of lighting a fire in the fields on Beltane-day, and baking a consecrated cake, was not extinct in the parish of Kirkmichael in Perthshire in 1795, and the primitive stone monuments in that parish were then of great extent and variety.—See the chapter on "Rocking-Stones."

Lighting fires on "Twelfthday-eve" in the fields was practised in the parish of Pountley in Gloucestershire to preserve the wheat crops from disease.—Hone's *Every-day Book*, ii. 14, quoting Rudge's *Gloucester*.

Fastern's Even, or Shrove-tide,[1] appears to have been another of the heathen Celtic festivals which were Christianised. The ceremonies peculiar to this day may, I think, be traced to a heathen origin ; and of those that still remain, or endured until the present century, the three following were most generally practised—viz., playing ball, tormenting and killing cocks, and making a certain kind of cakes, accompanied with various forms of divination. It would also appear that this was one of these eves on which ceremonial fires were lighted.[2]

The playing ball was not originally foot-ball, for no one was allowed to kick it. In the parish of Scone[3] in the last century it was thus practised. The opposite sides consisted of all the married men of the parish opposed to the bachelors. The ball was thrown up in the middle between the parties, and struggled for from two o'clock until sunset. If any married man, sufficiently strong and swift, could seize the ball, break away from the mass, and before being overtaken could put it three times into a certain hole in the moor, his party were successful. In like manner, if a bachelor could bear away the ball, reach the Tay, and dip the trophy three times in the river, the bachelors triumphed. If the struggle was undecided at sunset, the ball was divided between the parties. Towards the end of the last century this game was abolished, for it was never unattended with violence ;

[1] It is the period fixed for the Phœnician festival at Tyre of the awakening of the sun. — Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 358.

[2] Lavaterus on "Walking Spirits," quoted in Sir Henry Ellis's Notes to Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 52.

[3] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, xviii. 87, 88.

whence originated the proverb, "All is fair at the ball of Scone."[1]

On Shrove Tuesday 1863 was observed at Dorking the ancient custom of processions with music, the persons being grotesquely dressed; the ceremonies terminated by foot-ball played with a roughness extremely dangerous to the limbs of the competitors.[2]

This struggle for the ball at Scone closely resembles the Soule of the Britons in the Morbihan, where the contest was carried on by two communes, one against the other, with a violence and ferocity which caused its prohibition, but only in the present century. Souvestre, who gives a most interesting account of these encounters,[3] says it is a vestige of the sun-worship—the name Soule[4] being little varied from that of the sun in all the Celtic languages.

In regard to the cruel amusement of cock-fighting and killing of cocks, I shall only here repeat what is more particularly noticed in another section—viz., that the cock was the usual sacrifice offered to the sun, and also that such offerings are still made in some parts of Britain.

The preparing of certain cakes (in England they are called pancakes, but in Scotland scair-bannocks[5] or sooty-

[1] The hill of Kinnoul, which rises immediately on the east of Scone, was frequented by great numbers of people on Beltane-day for the practice of superstitious games. After the Reformation this was prohibited under heavy penalties.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, xviii. 560.

[2] *West Surrey Times* newspaper.

[3] Souvestre's *Derniers Bretons*, vol. i. pp. 125-132.

[4] Soillse, Gaelic; Soul, Seul, Cornish; Seol, Armorican.

[5] Scair or Sgair is the Gaelic for a knot or knob on the surface, and pro-

bannocks[1]) on Fastern's Eve is connected with various forms of divination. These cakes are formed of milk, oatmeal or flour, eggs, and sugar. The white of one of the eggs, presented by each person, is separately dropped into water, and from the forms it assumes the fortune-teller traces the future career of the inquirer. This is one form of divination. Another is by a portion of the custard being separated from the rest and mixed with soot; into this a marriage-ring or piece of gold or silver was dropped, and the mess was baked into a cake or bannock, and divided into as many pieces as there were persons. Then each one, being first blindfolded, drew a portion; and special good fortune attached to the person who got the ring. During the whole operation the person who prepared the bannock had to preserve silence, else the virtue of the charm was lost.[2]

An expression in the Gaelic language,[3] used by the Scotch Highlanders, to signify a man placed in extreme difficulties is translated "He is between the two fires of Bel." Shaw, in his history of Moray, says that to stand for a limited time betwixt two contiguous fires, or to walk, barefooted, thrice over the burning ashes of a carn-fire,[4] was an expiatory punish-

bably refers to the knobs which were raised on such cakes; each knob, when broken off, being thrown as an offering to some one of the inferior spirits. Bannach is the Gaelic for a cake; Bannag, a Yule-cake.

[1] Suitheich or Suitheach is the Gaelic for sooty.

[2] These practices and ceremonies—viz., the divinations used in preparing the bannocks, I have repeatedly witnessed.

[3] "Edir da hin Veaul or Bel."—Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 105.

[4] Carn-fires was another name for Bel-fires, and may have been derived from the elevated piles of stones, carns or cairns, on which they were lighted. With such a probable derivation, it is hardly worthy considering another,

ment for criminals. A Gaelic scholar in the last century[1] in regard to the expression "He is betwixt two Beltein fires," gives as an explanation that the Celtic tribes in their sacred enclosures offered sacrifices, commonly horses, that were burnt between two large fires. On this it may be remarked that horses were sacrificed to the sun by the Arian race from the earliest times ; and this continued to be practised by Hindus, Persians, and other nations. In Britain it is probable that our heathen ancestors sacrificed horses ; and it is certain that they ate them.[2]

Beltane fires were, and still are, lighted on Hallowe'en (31st October), as well as on May-day. Hallowe'en was particularly devoted to the practice of various forms of divination, and these are still maintained in some parts of Scotland. The following remarkable ceremony of the Hallowe'en mysteries is described in the statistical account of the parish of Callander in Perthshire.[3] The Bel fires were lighted on rising grounds and in villages.[4] When the materials of the fires were consumed, the ashes were carefully collected in the form

viz., that Carneus was a name of Apollo. But it must be remembered that Faire in Gaelic signified a watch; thus, Cnoc-Faire, the Watch-Hill ; Carn-na-Faire, the Watch-Cairn.

[1] The Rev. D. M'Queen of Kilmuir in the Isle of Sky.—Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, ii. 436.

[2] See the article on "The Horse."

[3] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xi. pp. 621, 622.

[4] Jamieson, in the article "Beltane," in his *Scottish Dictionary*, is mistaken in saying that Beltein is unknown to the inhabitants of the counties to the north of Perthshire. At Midsummer and Hallowe'en Beltein fires still blaze on many an eminence in Aberdeenshire ; and but a few years since, on moors that are now corn-fields, green spots that had been raised and surrounded by circular trenches were pointed out as places in which Beltane ceremonies had been performed.

of a circle. Near the circumference of this a stone was put for every person of the several families interested in the bonfire; and whatever stone was moved out of its place, or was injured before next morning, the person represented by that stone was devoted or Fey, and it was supposed would die within twelve months from that date. The same rite practised on the same day prevailed in North Wales, where white stones marked for each individual were put into the great fire called Coel-coeth.[1] These ceremonies confirm more direct evidence, from which it is probable, if not proved,[2] that the number of stones that define the area of monolithic fanes has reference to the number of individuals, families, villages, or tribes who erected or worshipped in these temples. The following passage in Isaiah would seem to apply to similar practices prevailing among the Jews: "Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks: walk in the light of your fire, and in the sparks that ye kindled. Ye shall lie down in sorrow" (Isaiah l. 11).[3]

Tin-Egin in Gaelic signifies fire produced by friction, to which mysterious and important properties were assigned by the heathen Celts. In another chapter it is noticed that in Ireland on certain festivals all the fires were quenched, and relighted from the fire of Bel.[4] The same ceremony was

[1] Brand's *Popular Antiquities* by Sir H. Ellis—"All Hallowe'en."

[2] See article "Circular Columnar Temples" for additional proofs.

[3] In the confession of Janet Watsoune, accused of witchcraft, she admitted that about the time of the last baille-fire night she was at a meeting at which the devil was present, and where she agreed to be his servant.—Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. iii. p. 601.

[4] See under the head of "Passing through the Fire."

practised by the Scots: Martin states[1] that all the fires in a parish having been extinguished, were afterwards relighted from the Tin-Egan. A vessel was then filled with water, and placed on the fire; and with this water all the people and their cattle were sprinkled, that they might be preserved from plague and murrain.

On Midsummer Eve, which has been adopted by the Christian church as the vigil of St. John the Baptist,[2] many rites were practised, whether in accordance with ecclesiastical permission or in defiance of its interdicts, that can only have had their origin in the days of paganism. They appear more distinctly applicable to the worship of the sun, as the Bel fires were lighted at the moment of the solstice; and passing through or leaping over the fires of Bel seems to have been practised as generally at this festival as on Beltane-day.[3] The ceremony most characteristic of solar worship that was practised on Midsummer Eve may possibly be connected with one of the figures on the sculptured stones of Scotland—viz., "the double disc and sceptre;" for the wheel seems to have been an emblem both of the summer and of the winter solstice, or Yeul.[4]

The wheel to be used in this rite was covered and twisted round with straw and other inflammable materials. It was taken secretly to the top of a mountain, and having

[1] Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 113.

[2] Souvestre says that the first Christian missionaries of Armorica substituted fires of St. John for those previously lighted in honour of the sun.—Souvestre's *Derniers Bretons*, vol. i. p. 91.

[3] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by Sir H. Ellis, vol. i. pp. 166, 167, 176-216, etc. etc.; also Polwhele's *History of Cornwall*, 4to, vol. i. pp. 50, 51.

[4] Brand's *Popular Antiquities* by Ellis—"Summer Solstice."

been set on fire, was rolled down, and thus represented the sun descending the heavens. One authority says this ceremony was to represent the sun, which from that period until Yule was to have a receding course. The wheel was also intended to bear with it existing or impending evils, and in this was an auxiliary to the fires that blazed on the hills and in the villages, portions of which fires, as also those lighted on Hallow-e'en, borne aloft on poles, were carried through the streets to prevent disease and avert misfortunes.[1] Another custom on Midsummer Eve was bearing a dragon in procession,[2] and is one of many circumstances that prove the connection of the worship of the snake with that of the sun; for wherever planetary worship has prevailed, the snake, as an emblem or object of worship, may generally, if not universally, be traced.[3]

The ceremonies practised at Yule or Christmas, and particularly lighting the fires from the last year's brand, after all other fires had been extinguished, seem to have been counterparts to the rites practised at Beltane, Midsummer, and Hallow-e'en; only so far modified as to suit the interior of a house and severe weather, instead of being exhibited in open fanes, and at more favourable seasons. The two movements called Widdershins and Deasil clearly owe their importance to sun-worship. The first, Widdershins, implies a movement made

[1] See also "Parish of Logierait," *Old Statistical Account of Perthshire*, v. pp. 84, 85.

[2] Brand's *Popular Antiquities* by Sir H. Ellis, vol. i. p. 168.

[3] On one of the sculptured stones of Scotland, figured in the Spalding Club work, the snake and sceptre are seen in combination with the double disc.

contrary to the apparent course of the sun. It was alleged that it was thus witches approached sacred places, and advanced towards the demons whom they served. This was done in defiance and opposition to what at one time must have been an established and religious duty—viz., to perform all actions in accordance with the sun's apparent motion. This in Celtic is called Deasil or Dessil.

The Flannan Isles,[1] although uninhabited, are believed by the people of the neighbouring islands to be places of inherent sanctity. When visited by persons from the Isle of Lewis the boatmen, on reaching the summit, uncover their heads, make a turn round sunways, and give thanks to God for their safety.[2] In Ireland when any one falls, he springs up and turns about three times to the right. On Martin's arrival in the Island of Rona, one of the inhabitants gave him a blessing, at the same time going round him sunwise. This was in Martin's visit to the Western Isles in the end of the seventeenth century. He mentions that it was then a practice to carry fire Deasil sunwise round persons or property in order to preserve them from any malignant influence. For the same reason boatmen rowed their boat round sunwise before proceeding in their direct course. The same author[3] informs us of the practice in those islands of religious processions moving sunwise round cairns and stones reared for some object that was unknown to tradition. It was sunwise that

[1] Buchanan calls them "Insulæ Sacræ:" they are about twelve miles from the Isle of Skye.

[2] Martin's *Western Isles*, pp. 16-19.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 20, 85, 97, 116, 117, 118, 119, 277.

the Celts approached a consecrated place, and all their religious processions moved in that direction. To ensure happiness in marriage it was thus the bride was conducted towards her future spouse ; and it was according to the same rule, Deasil, that the corpse was conveyed to the grave or funeral pyre.[1]

The direct testimony of an eye-witness to the continuance of such ceremonies towards the end of the last century in the lowland district of Moray will now be quoted. Shaw, in his history of that province, mentions the Deas-soil processions, which he had often seen made round the church at marriages, churchings of women, and burials ; as well as processions with lighted torches made in like manner around the corn-fields, in order to obtain a blessing on the crops. The same author mentions the people having feasts, lighting superstitious fires, and forming Deas-soil processions on Maunday Thursday. When a contagious disease occurred among the cattle the people of the villages where it prevailed extinguished all the fires. Then a fire was produced by friction, and on this a vessel was placed in which juniper branches were boiled. With this decoction all the cattle were sprinkled ; and on the conclusion of the ceremonies the household fires were relighted from the friction fire.[2] On May-day (Beltane) Shaw was pre-

[1] The remains of deceased persons brought for interment to the island of Hi (Iona) were placed on the mound called Eala, while the funeral party thrice performed the Dei Siol around the spot. — Dr. Reeves' *Adamnani Vita St. Columbæ*, p. 423.

The chief relic of St. Columba — viz., the Cathac—if sent three times Dei Siol round the army of the Cinell Conaill before battle was believed to ensure victory.—Reeves' *Adamnan's St. Columba*, p. 250.

[2] Compare these ceremonies with what are described by Ovid in his Fourth Book of the *Fasti* regarding the Palilia festival in honour of the tute-

sent at ceremonies which he pronounces to be undoubted remains of the worship of Baal. These ceremonies were propitiatory, to preserve cattle from accidents or disease.[1]

Ashtoreth—the Moon (in Scotch, Mone or Meen).[2]

There are many proofs, direct and circumstantial, that place it beyond all doubt that the moon was one of the objects of heathen worship in Britain. But under what name the moon was invoked is not discoverable, unless it may have been as Andraste, the goddess to whom the British queen Boadicea, with hands outstretched to heaven, appealed when about to engage in battle with the Romans.[3] In the earliest periods of Indian history we find Mao, the moon-god; Nania,[4] the moon-goddess. But Ashtoreth[5] or Astarte[6] was the name under which she was most commonly worshipped by the Israelites and Assyrians, and by Phœnicians as well as the Carthaginians and other colonists from Tyre and Sidon. In the received translation of the Old Testament there are many

lary divinity of shepherds. We may also remember the Celtic element in the earliest Italian population, and that Pales appears to have been a deity of the race previous to the foundation of the city, and the origin of the Roman name.

[1] Shaw's *History of Moray*, pp. 230, 232, 241, 242, 249, edit. 1775.

[2] In Pontus and Phrygia, Mēn (Strabo, b. xii.) In Sanscrit, Chandra, brightness. In Cingalese the moon is Handa. In Cornish the full moon is Cann.—Polwhele, *Cornwall*, i. 156.

[3] Xiphiline, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lvii.

[4] Nania, Anaites; Naneás, temple; Naneás, priests (2 Maccab. i. 13). The first statue made of solid gold was to the goddess Anaites. Her worship prevailed in Armenia, Assyria, Persia, etc.—Smith's *Mythological Dictionary*, "Anaites."

[5] Judges x. 6; 1 Samuel vii. 3; xii. 10; 1 Kings xi. 5-53; 2 Kings xxiii. 13; etc. etc.

"Mooned Ashtaroth,
Heaven's queen and mother both."—MILTON.

[6] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 301.

notices of the worship of the moon, "the Queen of Heaven,"[1] —even without referring to marginal additions or notes of orthodox divines on the epithet commonly translated "*the groves*"[2]—or the word Meni, which is interpreted number.[3] I refer more particularly to the worship of Baal and Ashtoreth in these countries as tending to prove that where circular Cyclopean temples, dolmens, and kistvaens are found, there planetary worship prevailed.[4]

We are not left in doubt of the worship of the Queen of Heaven by our heathen or semi-Christian ancestors, as by an Archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh century they are forbidden to do homage to the moon ;[5] and in the early part of the eighth century an Archbishop of York interdicts the practice of augury by sun, moon, and stars.[5]

An ancient belief, adhered to by the ignorant after being denounced and apparently disproved by the learned, is now admitted to be a fact—viz., the influence of the moon in certain

[1] To the Queen of Heaven the fathers, kings, and princes in the cities of Judah and in Jerusalem, burned incense, poured out drink-offerings, and made cakes.—Jeremiah xliv. 15, 17, 19.

[2] The children of Israel "set up images and *groves* in every hill, and *under every green tree*" (2 Kings xvii. 10, and notes in D'Oyley and Mant's Bible). Josiah brake down the altars of Baalim. The (sun) images he cut down. The *groves*, carved images, and molten images *he brake in pieces, made dust* of them, and strewed it on the graves of them that sacrificed unto them.—2 Chron. xxxiv. 4.

Manasseh set a graven *image of the grove* in the house of the Lord.—2 Kings xxi. 7.

Vessels made for Baal and for *the grove*.—2 Kings xxiii. 4.

Ashera, translated *grove*, was a deity whose image was of wood, not fashioned into a human form.—Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 302.

[3] Isaiah lxv. 11.

[4] See the article on Cyclopean remains in countries from India to the extreme west of Europe.

[5] Theod. *Liber Poenitentialis*, xxvii. 18 ; and *Arch. Ebor.* sec. 23 ; Ecgbert *Poenitentiale*, lib. ii. sec. xxiii. ; Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. ii. pp. 34, 191.

diseases. This, from various circumstances, is more apparent in some of the Asiatic countries,[1] and may have given rise to the custom which extended into Britain of exposing sick children on the house-tops.[2]

It would be superfluous to refer to all the superstitious rites, extinct or extant, that show how deeply rooted in the minds of our ancestors was the belief in the control exercised by the moon over the affairs of men; nor is it necessary to accumulate proofs that the belief in its supposed influence had not ceased with the termination of the eighteenth century.[3] In every department of witchcraft and sorcery the position of the moon and planets was an element of special consideration. The ill-luck of having no *silver* money—coins

[1] The year 1843, when Sinde was seized by the British was very unhealthy, and the troops were necessarily without sufficient barracks. The great and certain increase of fever cases at changes of the moon then became convincing to the most sceptical.

[2] Theod. Arch. Cant. *Lib. Poenitentialis*, xxvii. 14; Ecgbert, Arch. Ebor. *Confessionale*, xxxiii., in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, 1840.

Astarte, the Queen of Heaven, was worshipped on high-places, in groves, and upon the roofs of houses.—Cruden's *Concordance*.

[3] In the *Statistical Account of Scotland* may be found abundant proofs of the superstitious reverence with which the moon was regarded.

An early tourist mentions the name of a man in the island of Lewis who accidentally cut his toe at the change of the moon, which, says the author, "ever since bleeds a fresh drop at every change of the moon."—Martin's *Western Islands*, p. 13.

In Devonshire, in this century, nurses warned their children against pointing their fingers at the sun, moon, or stars.

In the end of the eighteenth century a streamlet or well in the cave of Uchtrie Macken, near Portpatrick, Wigtonshire, continued to be held in reverence, and invalids, and persons supposed to be suffering under the influence of witchcraft were brought—particularly on the first Sunday of May—to be bathed in the water. This ceremony took place "at the change of the moon, which is still (1791) considered with superstitious reverence."—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 47; Sir John G. Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 80.

of other metal being of no avail—when you first see or hail a new moon, is still a common belief from Cornwall to Caithness, as well as in Ireland.

A clergyman of Edinburgh, writing in the present century, says—"It is strange that in a land so long favoured with clear gospel light some should still be so much under the influence of the grossest superstition that they not only venture on divination, but in their unhallowed eagerness to dive into the secrets of futurity, even dare directly to give homage to the 'Queen of Heaven.'"[1] One of the "heathenish acts" of unhallowed eagerness thus referred to is the desire of a maiden to see the likeness of the person who is to become her husband. For the purpose of gratifying her curiosity it was necessary to place herself on a yerd-fast (earth-fast) stone,[2] with her back leant against a tree—in this position to receive the light of the first new moon of a new year, and then to acknowledge its presence and its power by the invocation, "O new moon! I hail thee." This was the Scottish form. In England the salutation was "All hail to thee, moon: all hail to thee!" In both countries this address was followed by a request that the moon would be pleased to reveal the apparition of the person to whom the devotee was thereafter to be married.[3] The position to be assumed by the person doing homage to the moon is remarkable. Earth-fast stones—

[1] Dr. Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, "Mone."

[2] In Yorkshire they kneel on a ground-fast stone.—Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, p. 132, edit. 1857.

[3] The success of this form of divination is vouched for, in two instances, by Aubrey in his *Miscellanies*, pp. 132, 133; originally published in 1696.

i.e. natural altars with inherited sanctity—were connected in South Britain, as well as in Scotland, with the heathenism of the earlier Christians. In a homily preserved at Cambridge offerings to earth-fast rocks are denounced.[1]

In Ireland, when the new moon is first seen people commonly bow the knee and say the Lord's Prayer. When the moon is near the wane, the address to her is "Leave us as well as thou found us."[2] In some parts of England the people had a custom at full moon of saying, "It is a fine moon, God bless her." In the Highlands of Scotland the women make a curtsey to the new moon.[3] The aboriginal tribes in the Dekhan of India also acknowledge the presence of the sun and moon by an act of reverence.

Raised on a plain in North Ronaldshay, one of the Orkney isles, is a large upright stone, nine or ten feet high and four broad, at which it was a practice for the people to assemble on the first day of the year, and to dance by *moonlight*, with no music but their own singing.[4] This is mentioned in the statistical account of the island, where it is added that there is no tradition regarding the origin of the monument. The festival would probably come under the description of the "heathen songs and devil's games" that were prohibited by King Edgar.[5] The women of Croisic, in France, dance round a menhir (upright stone).[6]

[1] Wright's *Superstitions of England*, vol. i. p. 242.

[2] Gibson's *Camden*, vol. ii. p. 380.

[3] Brand's *Popular Antiquities* by Sir H. Ellis, vol. i. p. 72.

[4] To this the clergyman of the parish had been an eye-witness. He writes in 1793.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 489.

[5] Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. ii. p. 249.

[6] Wright's *Early Inhabitants of Britain*, p. 63.

To similar customs Strabo may have referred when he says —"It is reported that the Celtiberians, and their neighbours to the north, sacrifice to a nameless god every full moon at night before their doors, the whole family passing the night in dancing and festival." The Sixth Council of Constantinople, in A.D. 680, interdicted the lighting of fires to the new moon, and leaping through these fires. There was a subsequent inhibition in A.D. 742 against sacrilegious fires. Of the origin of such ceremonies we are not left in doubt; they are described as ancient and pagan observances.[1]

The following quotation is from Kenrick's *Phœnicia*:— "Astoreth, or Astarte, whom the Greeks sometimes identify with Juno, sometimes with Venus, appears physically to represent the moon. Her relation to Baal (Baalsamen, the sun) was expressed by the feminine form Baalith. She was the chief local deity of Sidon."[2]

In the chapter on the "Religion of Early Britons" are noticed the remains, in one of the Western Isles, of a ruined temple of Annait, a deity whose worship seems to have been connected with that of the moon.[3]

[1] Sir H. Ellis's notes to "Summer Solstice" in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*.

[2] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 298-301.

[3] Among the forbidden points of heathenism enumerated in the laws of Cnut the worship of the sun is mentioned; but in that case the king may more particularly have referred to his subjects of Scandinavian descent.—Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. i. p. 379.

CHAPTER VI.

WORSHIP OF SPIRITS, ATMOSPHERIC AND TERRESTRIAL: ETHEREAL FIRE—SPIRIT OF THE WATERS: THE WATER KELPIE, ETC.—SPIRIT OF THE EARTH—ELVES AND IMPS.

Objects of Worship common to Phœnicians, Hindus, and Celts—The Sun and the Elements—Atmospheric and Terrestrial Phenomena—*Spirit of Ethereal Fire*—Legend of Lochawe—Cailleach Vear—Crones of the Island of Gigha and Druidesses of Sena—*Spirit of the Waters*—The Water Kelpie—Extraordinary Superstition at St. Vigeans—Sunken-kirk—*Spirit of the Earth*—St. Oran and St. Columba—The Goodman's Croft—The Field-Deities and Deities of Britain.

UNDER the head of "Phœnician Influence on Britons" is noticed a similarity in the religion of the Phœnicians and the heathenism of Britain; and in comparing "Customs and Superstitions of Central Asia with those of Western Europe" is remarked the conformity of certain early objects of worship in these remote regions. In the chapters headed "Baal and Astarte—the Sun and Moon" are detailed some particulars regarding the planetary worship of our heathen ancestors; and to these are now to be added their adoration, whether it were the offspring of fear or reverence, of portentous phenomena, and other objects, atmospheric and terrestrial,—in this particular also resembling the ancient Hindus of the Vedas, and the earliest inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon.

In the middle of the fifth century, about A.D. 462, it is stated by the early Irish annalists that King Laoghaire, having violated the oath he had sworn—viz., by the sun, the wind, and the elements—was the next year slain in battle. Having outraged these powers by which he had sworn is the cause assigned for the king's death by all the monastic annalists,[1] even to a period so late as the seventeenth century.

In the Fedh Fiadha, the Lorica or Hymn of St. Patrick, which was believed to protect those who recited it from evils, bodily and spiritual, there is, along with the prayer for protection against "women, smiths, and druids," the invocation of the power of the sky, the sun, fire, lightning, wind.[2] The Lorica of St. Columba enables us to distinguish some methods of divination and heathen omens in use at King Diarmait's Court at Tara in the sixth century. The saint maintains that his fate did not depend "on the voice of birds, nor on the roots of a knotted tree, nor on the noise of the clapping of hands, nor lots, nor sneezing, nor a boy, nor chance, nor women;" and continues, "Christ is my Druid."[3]

Spirit of Ethereal Fire.

The exemplifications of the power of the female deity *Cailleach Vear* occupied in the end of last century—possibly still occupy—a conspicuous place among the marvellous

[1] Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 437.

[2] "This proves," says Dr. Todd, "that notwithstanding the undoubted piety and fervent Christian faith of the author, he had not yet fully shaken off all pagan prejudices.

[3] Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 122; Dr. Reeves's *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, p. 74.

legends of the Western Highlands of Scotland. Her residence was believed to be on the highest mountains; and a great stone, in a remarkable and elevated position on the high hills which separate Strathlachlan from Glendaruel, still preserves the name of Cailleach Vear or Vera. To her is attributed, among other wonders, the formation of Locheck in Cowal, and Lochaw in Lorn, the waters of which now cover what tradition affirms to have been extensive valleys and fertile plains.[1]

The submerging of these lands, and the formation of the beautiful expanse of Lochaw, is, in the English translation of Gaelic poetry, attributed "to the neglect of the aged Bera, daughter of Griannan." According to this version Bera had charge of the mysterious fountain on the summit of the lofty Ben Cruachan, and omitted her duty of closing the fountain with a stone of magical power before the last rays of the sun should leave the mountain peak. The fate of the plains below depended on the due performance of this ceremony. One evening, overcome by fatigue, Bera fell asleep before sunset, and only awoke on the third day to see that the race and the lands of which she had been guardian were overwhelmed by waters from the fountain that ought to have been sealed with the fated stone.

The Rev. Mr. Stewart[2] says "the allegory of Cailleach Vear

[1] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 559-60.

[2] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 560.

There may possibly be a connection between the ancient Hindu deities that control the elements and those to whom were assigned similar powers by the Gaels. Indra and Vrita of the Hindus, in aërial conflict, produce effects like those attributed to the Gaelic Vear or Bera; thus

can be easily traced: Beir is the Gaelic for a thunderbolt, in the oblique cases pronounced Veir, as Bein or Ben Veir, a high mountain in Appin, signifies 'the mountain of thunder;'" and he adds, "everything said of Cailleach Vear literally applies to the effects of lightning." This appears the more certain when we consider that in Gaelic Veither or Beither[1] is the thunderbolt, another word for which is Tein adhair, "ethereal fire." In the translation of Ossian we need not doubt that "the aged Bera, daughter of Griannan,"[2] is the Cailleach Vear or Bear of Mr. Stewart; for in Gaelic Cailleach is an old woman, and Griannan the sunny mountain peak.

Another well, called Tobar-Rath-Bhuathaig, to which were attributed virtues somewhat similar to those of the fountain on Ben-Cruachan, exists in the island of Gigha in the Hebrides, and even in the very end of the last century had not entirely lost the fame which it had probably acquired in periods of remote antiquity. It was believed that, by performing certain

—"Indra strikes the earth-shaking Vritra with his rain-causing hundred-spiked Vagra thunderbolt" (*Sama-Veda* of Stevenson, p. 251). The close connection of the Sanscrit and Gaelic words for planetary bodies and atmospheric phenomena has now been fully proved by philologists. The representatives of these heavenly bodies and phenomena may also have had a common origin.

[1] It is remarkable that in Gaelic Beither not only signifies the thunderbolt, but also a dragon, a serpent. Tein Athair, lightning, ethereal fire, is also a synonym of Beither. The serpent seems to be, and to have been, an emblem in connection with the worship of the heavenly bodies and atmospheric phenomena in Asia, as well as in heathen Europe. Tein-Speur is another name for lightning, and of similar import to Tein-Athair.

May not the name of the Celtic god Taranis be derived from Torrunn or Tarnach, Gaelic words for thunder?

[2] We see that the wight called Gowmacmorn by Barbour, and the giant Fyn M'Kowle of Dunbar, have become in Macpherson's translation Gaul, son of Morni, and Fingal.—See the quotation in Mr. Cosmo Innes's *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 256.

ceremonies at this fountain persons initiated in its mysteries could cause the wind to blow from whatever quarter they desired; that afterwards, if the fountain were not properly closed, a storm would arise, and the whole island be overwhelmed. The reverend author of the statistical account of the parish in 1792[1] mentions that two crones, named Galbreath and Graham, were then said to possess the secret, and if required would practise the necessary rites.[2]

Spirit of the Waters.—Water Kelpie.

The great spirit of the waters is said to have been called in Gaelic Neithe, which name the reverend author of the statistical account of the parish of Kilmichael derives from the Celtic word to cleanse or purify.[3] The same authority names other two spirits—viz., "the Marcach-Shine, or rider of the storm," and Anvona. The former, from the description,

[1] Rev. Mr. Fraser's *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 52.

[2] The Druidesses of the island of Sena, according to Pomponius Mela, could grant fair winds or raise tempests. Thus, at an interval of eighteen centuries, we find identical sorceries and impositions practised by the Druidesses of Armorica and the Celtic sybils of the Hebrides.

[3] Nigh is the Gaelic to cleanse; Nighte, cleansed, purified; Nigheidh, purifying. There are streams called Nith, Ned, or Neath, or other slight varieties of the same word, in England and Wales as well as in Scotland. The Rev. Mr. Grant, from whose account of the parish these names are derived (*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xii. p. 464), from the wild, and then (1794) inaccessible district in which he resided amid a Celtic population, must have had the best opportunities of collecting vestiges of ancient legends and superstitions connected with the Gaelic race. Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, gives a different derivation to the word "Nith," where he points it out as the name of many streams. He derives the name from a Brito-Celtic word not found in the Gaelic (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 47) signifying a stream with many eddies.

would appear to be identified with hurricanes, and the latter with less furious tempests.

To this "angry spirit of the waters" are assigned qualities essentially opposite to those beneficent attributes with which superstition endowed the genii of the fountains. From unrecorded ages to the present day, the virtues of the health-giving springs—the benefits of pilgrimages to their sites, the pure air, and the effects of imagination, heightened by the ceremonies practised at these wells—have in Scotland, prior to Christianity, been credited to local deities. Very different is the *Water-kelpie*, the name by which the spirit of the waters is now most generally known in Scotland. This demon seems to be a compound of various fiends possessing different forms. Sometimes it is described as wholly or partly human, as merman or mermaid; but more commonly the shape assigned to it is that of a horse or a bull.[1] The sounds of the kelpie when heard in the storm, whether as the wild neighing or hoarse bellowing, is reckoned a sure presage of misfortunes. In form of a horse the kelpie is believed to emerge from the sea or a lake, and to tempt the unwary to mount on his back, that he may dash with his rider into the depths of the flood. Legends regarding the Bull of the Waters, in some districts called the Water-cow, are less poetical, but the fiend is generally unamiable, whether he assumes the form of a handsome young man, of a horse, or of a bull.

In Scotland the belief in the existence of the Water-kelpie was very general in the last century, and is by no means

[1] Each-Uisg, horse of the water; Tara-Uisg, bull of the waters.

extinct in the present generation. There are few lakes regarding which there are not legends and traditions of the appearance of this fiend in its waters or on its banks, and many persons were asserted to have seen the Horse or Bull of the Waters.[1]

The following notice of an event which took place so lately as 1736 may almost be considered as a conflict in the last century between latent heathenism and Christianity in the minds of the inhabitants of a parish in the lowlands of Scotland, and in the neighbourhood of a considerable town. The church of St. Vigeans is situated in a romantic dell about a mile from the town of Arbroath, and occupies the summit of a steep mount, which is partly artificial. There the spirit of the waters, called in the narrative written by the clergyman of the parish in 1794[2] the Water-kelpie, must, in this case, from the nature of the labours attributed to him, have been considered as of human form. The reverend author states that from the year 1699 until 1736 the sacrament of the Lord's Supper had not been dispensed in the church of St. Vigeans; and in the neighbourhood a tradition prevailed that the stones for the erection of the church had been carried by the Water-

[1] The reverend author of the Statistical Account of the parish of Kilmuir, in Ross-shire (*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xii. p. 275), states that the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the small lake of Pitlundy "allege that water-cows have been seen in or about this lake." "But," he adds, "it is of too small an extent to give any shadow of credibility to such an assertion;" the clergyman thus justifying his incredulity in regard to water-kelpies in his parish, not by the non-existence of such monsters, but from the want of sufficient room for them in the loch of Pitlundy.

[2] The Rev. Mr. Aitken, in the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xii. pp. 173, 174.

kelpie, and that the foundation rested on bars of iron placed over a lake of great depth. In the latter year—viz., 1736—when the administration of the sacrament was to be resumed in the church of St. Vigeans, the people believed that whenever it would be attempted the church, with all the congregation, would sink into the mysterious abyss. So firmly were many persons persuaded that this would happen, that on the day fixed for the administration of the sacred ordinance hundreds of the parishioners placed themselves on an eminence at the opposite side of the ravine, momentarily expecting to witness the anticipated catastrophe. In so remarkable a detail of recent superstition it is well to know that the author may be considered as contemporary with the fact which he describes, for he was the schoolmaster before he was the clergyman of St. Vigeans.[1]

It is also a fact of some importance connected with Caledonian hieroglyphics, that on the sculptured stones of St. Vigeans there are heathen emblems along with the symbol of Christianity. All these circumstances, considered in connection with the site of this ancient religious establishment, its monuments and traditions, seem to suggest the probability that the mound on which the church stands was once occupied by a heathen fane, and, as in many other instances, was therefore chosen for a place of Christian worship. There also was a holy well at St. Vigeans. In the foundations of such ancient

[1] Mr. Chalmers says that Mr. Aitken, was schoolmaster at St. Vigeans nearly a hundred years ago. This was written in 1848.—Mr. Chalmers' notice of Plate I. of his work on the *Sculptured Stones of Angus and Mearns*, published for the Bannatyne Club.

churches—in this case also in the formation of the mound on which St. Vigeans stands[1]—future antiquaries may possibly find sculptures or inscriptions to throw a clear light on subjects which we at present can only investigate by a glimmer that is but too likely to mislead.

At a place called Toft-hill, in the parish of Clatt, in Aberdeenshire, formerly stood a circle of columnar stones which have been broken and removed. This circle was called "the Sunken Kirk," and there was a tradition that it occupied the site of a place of worship which had sank with the whole congregation. Numerous cairns, containing urns and other sepulchral deposits, were discovered near "the Sunken Kirk."

Out of many recorded, as well as traditional, accounts regarding the appearance or existence of a spirit of the waters in the form of a bull, it is sufficient to quote one which is neither legendary nor traditional. It belongs to the nineteenth century and the present generation. This proof of a long-enduring superstition is now given in the words of the

[1] In several mounds in Britain circular columnar monuments have been discovered; and in one which was removed in the formation of the Great North of Scotland Railway at Kintore there were found, ten feet from the summit, stones on which were sculptured some of the figures in the Caledonian hieroglyphics. A large and remarkable Cyclopean monument of a circular form, over which the earth had been heaped, was discovered near St. Heliers, in the island of Jersey, in 1785. This monument was removed by General Conway, and re-erected at his seat, Park Place, in Berkshire. At that time the general opinion was, that it was a Druid fane, which its guardians had covered with earth, to preserve it from the profanation of invaders (Britton and Brayley's *Berkshire*, p. 130). Such monuments, however, when not turned into places of sepulture, and included in tumuli by later generations, were more likely to have been covered over by order of the early Christian authorities, to prevent the people, who were nominally converted to Christianity, from persevering in heathen worship.

author.[1] "This imaginary being, the Water-bull, is still believed to inhabit a small lake named Mikley or Mechely, about seven miles from Loch Ness. The owner of a calf produced in the neighbourhood in 1832 assures the author that, owing to some peculiarity of conformation, it was firmly credited to be the progeny of the Water-bull."

Spirit of the Earth.

The Celts believed in a "spirit of the earth" as well as in spirits of the waters[2] and ethereal fire. The tradition attaching to some buildings of the earliest ages—viz., that a human being was buried alive under the foundation in order to ensure its stability—has evidently reference to the Spirit of the Earth.[3] There was a current tradition that St. Oran, the

[1] Sir J. Graham Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, addenda, p. 682.

[2] Referred to under the head of "Customs and Superstitions, etc."

[3] "The Picts, to whom works of great strength and unknown antiquity are attributed, are said to have bathed the foundation-stone with human blood, in order to propitiate the spirit of the soil. Similar to this is the Gaelic tradition according to which St. Columba is supposed to have found it necessary to bury St. Oran alive beneath the foundation of his monastery, in order to propitiate the spirits of the soil, who demolished by night what was built during the day."—Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*—note to "The Court of Keeldar." See also further particulars regarding St. Columba, St. Oran, and the Spirits of the Earth, in the note on "Glenfinlas," in the same work.

The sprinkling of human blood on the foundations of a building, to appease the earth-spirits, seems to have been common to the Celtic race—to the British as well as the Gaels and Picts—

> . . . "That mightie king, which rashly undertooke
> A strong-wall'd tower to reare, those earthly spirits that shooke
> The great foundation still."

This extract is from Drayton's *Polyolbion*, p. 158. In Selden's note on this passage, p. 164, he explains that Vortigern, having caused the erection of a strong fort to be commenced in Snowdon, what the workmen built in the day was always swallowed up in the earth next night. The king consulted the magicians,

companion of St. Columba, was thus buried in Iona under the first church which that saint was successful in rearing in the island. In the account of the death of St. Oran, quoted in Thomas Innes's *Ecclesiastical History*, he refers to this as "a fabulous story current in the island." At the same time, however, he quotes details which, if taken into consideration along with the ancient superstition, favour an impression that not until one of the fraternity had been buried in the island was their right of gift and possession considered as fully ratified. St. Columba is said to have declared to his followers, on his first arrival in Iona, that whichever of them should choose[1] to be the first to die should procure a twofold advantage—viz., the one of profit to himself by going more quickly to Christ; the other to his brethren, by confirming their right to the island by corporal possession. Oran, wearied of the miseries of the present world, "joyfully accepted the option;" and St. Columba on this occasion not only assured Oran of future happiness, but also that he should enjoy a prerogative before men—viz., that whoever came to ask for favours from the Almighty at his (St. Columba's) sepulchre, should fail, unless he first paid his respects at Oran's tomb. St. Oran died soon after, having been but a short while sick. In this account there is something mysterious, and two questions are naturally suggested by the narrative: the first, Did Oran

who advised that the stones and mortar should be sprinkled with the blood of a child that had no father, and that the foundation of the castle would then stand firm. See also Nennius, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 67.

[1] Innes's *Civil and Ecclesiastical History*, p. 192.

The words are "shall choice and be content to be the first that dies and is buried in this island."

hasten his own death? the second, Was he encouraged or induced to do so? We see that he "accepted the option" (of death?) because tired of this world; and thereon obtained promises of heavenly blessings and posthumous honours on earth. The latter he certainly enjoyed. The words show that Oran had an alternative, and the result proves that he accomplished the lot which he had chosen; for "he soon after died, having been but a short while sick."

This narrative is at least a sufficient excuse for the "fabulous story," which does not involve any conclusion that might not be in some degree deduced from the explanation of this ecclesiastical event in Innes' *Ecclesiastical History*, and the *Life of St. Columba* by Adamnan.[1]

Among the Celtic population of Ireland, "when any one gets a fall he springs up, and turning about three times to the right, digs a hole in the ground with his knife or sword, and cuts out a turf, for they imagine there is a spirit in the earth."[2] Those minute portions of untilled land, once so numerous in Scotland, and usually called "the gudeman's croft," have in later times, it is assumed, been offered to the devil. His right, however, may be disputed; and as possession cannot be proved, the law of prescription will not avail. "The spirit of the earth" I believe to have a better title than "the spirit of evil" to these petty lairdships. Many green places

[1] The story of St. Oran will also be found in Pennant's *Voyage to Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 286, 287.

[2] Camden's *Britannia* by Gibson, vol. ii. p. 378.

in fields or on moors were, and some still are, left undisturbed by cultivation as the domains of a heathen spirit. The latest instance of the dedication of land to a spirit is contained in Professor J. Y. Simpson's address to the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh in 1861, in these words : "In the same district"—viz., within twenty miles of Edinburgh—"a relative of mine bought a farm not very many years back. Amongst his first acts after taking possession was the enclosing a small triangular corner of one of the fields within a stone-wall. The corner cut off, and which still remains cut off, was 'the goodman's croft' — an offering to the spirit of evil, in order that he might abstain from ever blighting or damaging the rest of the farm."

Besides more important objects of worship, the Celts,[1] judging from a few recorded facts, and the remains of many superstitions, had an infinity of local and inferior genii. Of these some were supposed to be benevolent, but the majority were considered mischievous. The numerous names of elves or imps in Gaelic is of itself a proof of a Celtic belief in a crowded inferior pantheon. Not only mountains and hills, rivers and fountains, had their peculiar deities,[2] but even in the present day many a green mound in the vales, or bright sequestered spot in the mountains, is shunned by sturdy peasants who would not fear the hostility of any mortal.

[1] These remarks are equally applicable to the inhabitants of the Celtic parts of Gaul ; to Brittany as well as to Ireland, Cornwall, Wales, and Scotland.

[2] Gildas, section 4.

The prefect of a Gaulish cohort, who erected an altar on the limits of Caledonia, has summed up in small compass the whole invisible heathen world of the country. His altar is dedicated "To the field deities and deities of Britain."

[1] It was found at Castle-hill, on the wall of Antoninus, and is described in Stewart's *Caledonia Romana*.

CHAPTER VII.

WORSHIP OF FOUNTAINS, LAKES, AND RIVERS.

Fountains, Lakes, and Rivers worshipped by Eastern Nations as well as by the Celts—Fountains dedicated to the Sun—Worship of Fountains not yet extinct—Sacred Wells and Heathen Temples often contiguous—Examples of such Sites chosen for Christian Churches—Heathen Rites and Christian Ceremonies at Wells—In Persia, as in Caledonia, Trees near Springs hung with Scraps of Clothing—Joan of Arc accused of attending a Meeting of Witches at a Fountain—Belief that certain Individuals or Families have the Power of bringing Rain when required—The Water-Cross and Relic of St. Columba—Well in Strathfillan used in Cases of Insanity—Certain Lochs with Sanatory Powers—Superstitious use of Water taken from Fords where Funerals had crossed the River Avon—*Worship of Trees*—Trees general Objects of Worship—The Worship of the Oak in Britain—Joan of Arc and the Fairy Oak—Sacred Trees—Tree at Anuradhapoora in Ceylon—All-sufficing Tree of Buddhist Cosmogony—Groves in connection with Primitive Stone Monuments—The Rowan-tree.

IN early ages fountains were sometimes, if not generally, dedicated to the sun; also to Apollo.[1] Water was worshipped by the ancient Persians, and still is by the Hindus. The river Indus was a god; the Ganges remains an object of profound veneration. Besides water and the ocean personified as gods, many streams and fountains in India, and also in Ceylon, have their individual deities or genii, of various

[1] Herodotus, *Melpomene*, clviii.-clxxxii.; Pliny, *Nat. History*, b. ii. c. 106; Quin. Curt. b. iv. c. vii.

degrees of power, who receive proportionate adoration or homage. The same worship of rivers and fountains prevailed in Britain and other countries of Western Europe.

Besides the testimony of Gildas[1] to the worship of rivers and fountains by the inhabitants of Britain, laws, civil and ecclesiastical, fulminated both in Gaul and Britain[2] against such practices, leave no doubt of their prevalence amongst the Celtic inhabitants of these countries. Pagan ceremonies connected with this worship exist in the present day in various parts of the United Kingdom, and in the last century were more particularly cherished in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall, and not less so in Brittany:[3] that is to say, in all those places where a Celtic population had the most enduring and predominating influence.

There are various circumstances connected with the superstitious practices retained by the Celts that may be cited in proof that their worship of fountains was connected with the worship of the sun. Beltane Day and Midsummer Eve[4] were the times particularly chosen for the resort of invalids to holy wells. At these seasons mothers carrying their sick children,[5] and crowds of people afflicted with every kind of bodily ail-

[1] Gildas, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* vii.

[2] *Liber Poenitentialis* of Abp. Theod. xxvii. 18; *Canons of King Edgar*, No. 16, in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. ii. pp. 34, 249; *Canons of Saint Anselm.*

Making offerings to wells, trees, and earth-fast rocks is denounced in a Saxon homily preserved in Cambridge Library. — Wright's *Superstitions of England*, vol. i. p. 242.

[3] Souvestre's *Derniers Bretons*, vol. i. pp. 23, 24, 90; *Finistere*, by Chevalier de Fremenville, pp. 104, 131, 135, 227, etc. etc.

[4] See article "Baal and Beltane."

[5] Brand's *History of Newcastle-on-Tyne*, vol. ii. p. 54.

ment, resorted to these fountains to drink or to bathe. Others came to fetch water for those who were unable to attend, or brought a portion of the vestment of the afflicted absentee to be dipped in the waters. Every one in their approach advanced deasil (sunwise), in which direction they went three times round before reaching the fountain; and all, before leaving, deposited an offering, however trifling, and whether or not there was any person to receive it on behalf of Christian saint or heathen deity. At St. Fillan's Well at Comrie, in Perthshire, numbers of persons in search of health, so late as 1791, came or were brought to drink of the waters and bathe in it. All these walked or were carried three times deasil (sunwise) round the well. They also threw each a white stone on an adjacent cairn, and left behind a scrap of their clothing as an offering to the genius of the place. These ceremonies were supposed not only to be effectual in restoring health, but also in curing barrenness.[1] The principal day for these rites—viz., the 1st May, old style (Beltane Day)—and the deasil procession, show the connection of these ceremonies to be with the worship of the sun, not with St. Fillan, whose feast-day is the 9th January. There are few parishes without a

[1] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xi. p. 181.

To give details or even lists of the wells to which pilgrimages were made on days of heathen festivals would be occupying space unnecessarily. At all these fountains the invalid used the same ceremonies, approaching them sunwise, and leaving a scrap of his clothing and an offering of metal, however small; even a pin was a common tribute. The water of some of these wells was considered effectual in curing the diseases of cattle as well as of human beings, and in the case of cattle a portion of their harness was left as an offering to the genius of the fountain, or his successor, the Christian saint.

holy well to which, in most instances, the name of a Christian saint has been attached. There is little room for doubt that these wells were Christianised when the people were converted from paganism to a spurious Christianity, and the Cyclopean fanes of the heathen became places of worship to the early Christians of Britain.

In another chapter[1] it is shown that the actual sites or immediate vicinity of monolithic temples have been generally adopted as the places where Christians first assembled and Christian churches were first erected. Contiguous to these, in numberless cases, are the fountains now known by the names of early Christian saints. Unless we charge Christianity with the introduction of the heathen customs which were generally and continuously practised at holy wells,[2] it must be admitted that they acquired their sacred character when modern superstitions were ancient religious rites.

The Druids held sacred certain fountains, and if it were under their direction that the monolithic fanes were raised, may have been actuated by the same policy as the Christian teachers, who fixed their religious establishments in places previously consecrated to unseen power by an earlier people.[3] At all events, the holy well, the heathen temple, and the

[1] See chapter on the "Circular Columnar Temples."

[2] The worship of fountains was condemned by the councils of Arles in 442, and of Tours in 567.

[3] In Dr. Reeves' *Adamnani Vita St. Columbæ*, p. 119, we see how St. Columba strove against the Magi (Druids) at a well in the county of the Picts. He exorcised the heathen demon of the well, which thereafter, as a holy fountain, cured many diseases. On the little island of Gavr Innes, in Brittany, there is a well of very fine water. In this island is a large tumulus containing a chamber of Cyclopean architecture.

Christian church were very often contiguous in Scotland,[1] and many similar instances in other Celtic countries may be pointed out. At Lanmeur in Brittany, in the low and massive crypt of the church of Saint Melars, is a sacred fountain, to which crowds of pilgrims still resort. The practices as well as the tradition connected with this spring point to the days of paganism, when the place derived its ancient name of Kerfeunteun from the fame of its waters. A small and very ancient chapel, erected on the edge of a fountain near Baud in Brittany,[2] is dedicated to Notre Dame de la Clarté; this, although a less objectionable style to *Notre Dame*, is equally derived from a heathen original as Notre-Dame-de-la-joie, Notre-Dame-de-la-Léesse, or Notre-Dame-de-la-Haine, under all which names churches are dedicated to the Virgin in Brittany.[3]

In the most celebrated Christian place of pilgrimage in Brittany—St. Anne of Auray—the devotees, after confession, are in the practice of walking three times round the sacred well, and then returning to the church to finish their devotions. "Le culte des fontaines existait chez les Celts. Charlemagne, dans ses capitulaires, et les évêques en concile, se plaignent de la ténacité de ce culte; ils anathématisent les insensés

[1] In a small island in Loch Maree, in the parish of Gairloch, in Ross-shire, is a burying-place still used, a well which for ages has been resorted to by invalids, and a circular columnar fane (*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 90). Here also heathen sacrifices of bulls were continued at least till late in the seventeenth century.—Dr. Arthur Mitchell's paper on "Superstition," in *Proceedings of Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, vol. iv. pp. 257, 258.

[2] Near Baud is the rude statue called the Venus of Quiniple, which, with its obscene rites, is noticed in another chapter.

[3] Fremenville's *Morbihan*, p. 143; his *Finistere*, p. 92; Souvestre's *Derniers Bretons*, p. 92.

qui vont allumer des chandelles au bord des eaux courantes, et y pratiquer d'autres superstitions. Mais, en dépit des anathémes et des ordres donnés pour détruire ces objets d'une vénération mysterieuse, il fallut arriver à composer avec la persistance instinctive des peuples, et se borner à sanctifier, en les consacrant au vrai Dieu, ces fontaines où toutes les miséres physiques de l'homme avaient l'habitude de chercher un soulagement. D'ailleurs, Saint Jean n'a-t-il pas mentionné dans son évangile la piscine de Jérusalem assiégée par les malades, et où le premier entré, aprés que l'ange du Seigneur en avait remué l'eau, obtenait toujours sa guérison? Dêsormais tolérées par l'indulgente sollicitude du Christianisme, les confiantes ablutions s'epurèrent par la prière fervente, et leur premier effet heureux fut de multiplier les chapelles, les èglises, où la reconnaissance pour le bienfait du saint patron de la source, dressait des autels afin d'y suspendre des ex-voto. Quel lieu de pèlerinage n'a pas une fontaine à son origine ?"[1]

At Kirkoswold in Cumberland, at no great distance from the great circular columnar fane called "Long Meg and her Daughters," a copious spring of pure water issues from beneath the west end of the church; and in the same county are several other instances of churches in connection with fountains.[2]

In the last century, in the parish of Keith, in the county of Banff, the people resorted to wells in the immediate neighbourhood of two heathen fanes, and there performed the usual

[1] *Pèlerinages de Bretagne* (*Morbihan*) par Hippolyte Violeau, pp. 97-98, Paris 1855.

[2] Brayley and Britton's *Beauties of England*, vol. iii. p. 146. The original church at York, where

ceremonies and left the customary oblations, to a heathen deity it must be presumed, for there was no Christian saint to share in the fame which these waters had acquired.[1] But in the same parish there was the "Guidman's Croft," a small portion of land dedicated to the spirit of the earth or to the devil, and which, up to a late period of the last century, was left in his undisturbed possession.[2] Whether this "guidman" was our devil or an ancient Caledonian deity is immaterial, in so far as the fact of a demon being allowed to retain landed property in the parish confirms the heathenism which then existed, and of which the offerings and ceremonies at fountains was a portion. These oblations are described in an old Scottish work[3] as offerings "wherewith the people arle (*i.e.* retain) the devil with an arles-pennie of their health."

Well-worship, and the belief in occult healing powers of fountains of pure water, being general in Ireland and the remote parts of Scotland, is a proof that the ceremonies practised at holy wells were not derived from the Roman Fontinalia, as the Romans never gained a footing in Ireland nor retained a position in Caledonia. But various circumstances, and the peculiar nature of the offerings made at fountains in Ceylon, India, and Persia, point to a common origin with ceremonies in the Celtic countries of Western Europe. In the Indian Vedas, the oldest hymns in the world, it is said "all healing power is in the waters."

the Cathedral now is, contained a spring.

[1] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 429-430.

[2] J. Robertson's *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff Shires*, vol. ii. p. 240.

[3] Quoted in the *Book of Bon Accord*, p. 268. Aberdeen 1839.

Whether under sanction of the history of the Pool of Bethesda, or on what other authority, a Christian Church encouraged a belief in miraculous cures performed at fountains, I am not aware. But so it was. Even in England, in times comparatively modern, holy wells were decorated with garlands of flowers and boughs of trees; as well as garnished with rags, scraps of the garments of votaries who came to be healed. This was not all done in defiance of the Church, for there is a record of the custom in some parishes of praying and singing psalms at certain wells,[1] and these not always medicinal ones. Aubrey, in his *Remains of Gentilism*, says that they used to read a gospel at the springs to bless them; and that this practice was discontinued at Sunningwell, in Berkshire, in 1688. A circumstance which occurred but a few years ago in Aberdeenshire will show with what tenacity the worship at wells still maintains its hold; and in this instance it was combined with the superstitious ceremony of passing the puny sick person through a narrow aperture beneath a stone. A farmer took his son, a boy who had been long ill, and after dipping him in the holy well,[2] drew him through beneath "the shargar stone" where the water flowed out from the spring.

Laws and records of judicatories of every kind and degree, both civil and ecclesiastical, bear testimony to the perseverance with which, in defiance of injunctions and disregard of

[1] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by Sir H. Ellis, pp. 223, 229.

[2] The father, and, strange to say, after such an operation, the son also, are both alive. The well was Paul's Well at Jackston, in the parish of Fyvie, in Aberdeenshire. The Shargar stone has been removed. Sharg or Shargar, the Lowland Scotch word for a blighted child or any puny or blighted animal, is synonymous with, and derived from, the Gaelic Searg or Shearg.

penalties, the people of Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made pilgrimages to consecrated fountains—whether bearing a heathen or a Christian name—there to invoke the genius of the place or the intercession of the saint.[1]

A piece of money or of metal, if it were only a pin, was usually thrown into the water, or was deposited on a stone that served as an altar of oblation. But the most important part of the offerings, as regarded the devotee who sought to regain health, was a scrap of his clothing, which was left suspended on some neighbouring tree, or on some bush or briar, in default of any more prominent sylvan representative. These superstitions have in some places survived to the present day. In the end of last century it is recorded of a well at Montblairie in Banffshire,[2] that "many still alive remember to have seen the impending boughs adorned with rags of linen and woollen garments, and the cistern enriched with farthings and bodles, the offerings of those who came from afar to the fountain."[3]

In the province of Fars, in Persia, Sir William Ouseley observed a monolith, ten or eleven feet in height, surrounded

[1] In the eighteenth century people frequented St. Colman's Well in the parish of Kiltearn, in Ross-shire, and after drinking of the water, hung shreds of clothing on the branches of the surrounding trees.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 284.

At Killallan in Renfrewshire, St. Fillan's Well was frequented by invalids until the clergyman caused it to be filled up with stones. The votaries to this well always left an offering of cloth on the overhanging bushes.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 316.

[2] J. Robertson's *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff Shires*, vol. ii. pp. 310, 311.

[3] There were several circular temples in the neighbourhood, and the ruins of a chapel close to the well.

by a fence of large stones. It was called by the natives the "Stone of the Fire Temple," and near it the branches of a tree were thickly hung with rags, offerings of the devout.[1] This appears to have been the remains of a religion that had been as long proscribed in Persia as paganism in Britain, and with apparently the same imperfect success. Hanway, in his *Travels in Persia*, mentions a tree to which were affixed a number of rags, left there as health-offerings by persons afflicted with ague. This was beside a desolate caravanserai where the traveller found nothing but water. In the Dekhan of India, and in Ceylon, trees and bushes near springs may often be seen encumbered with similar offerings of rags and bits of cloth. Compare this with a statement made fifty years after the Reformation with regard to the mineral wells of Scotland—viz., "that they were all tapestried about with old rags."[2] So it was at the well of Craiguck, in the parish of Avoch, in Ross-shire, in 1860.[3] In the island of Skye, at Loch Siant, there is a sacred well, and another in the island of Jura, to which sick persons resorted. After having drunk of the water the invalids went three times sunwise round the well, and then deposited their offerings on a stone.[4] A copse adjacent to the well at Loch Siant was deemed so sacred that no one would cut the smallest branch of it.

One of the accusations made against Joan of Arc was, that

[1] This and other Cyclopean remains in that country are mentioned under the head of "Persia."

[2] *Book of Bon Accord*, pp. 268, 269.

[3] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 269.

[4] Martin's *Western Isles*, pp. 140-142.

she had attended meetings of witches at a *fountain* near the fairies' oak of Bourlemont; such like were the other charges through which a base revenge was gratified by the cruel sacrifice of this heroine.[1] In the middle of the fifteenth century, along with other blasphemous impossibilities which some churchmen of Arras invented or employed in order to destroy their victims, was the assertion that accused persons passed through the air to attend the witches' sabbath held at the *fountain* in the wood of Mofflaines, near Arras.[2]

The inhabitants of the Isle of Bernera had a peculiar mode of divination by means of the well of Shadar. To ascertain the results in cases of violent illness, a person was sent from the invalid with a wooden dish to be placed on the water. If the dish turned round sunwise it was a sure sign that the person would recover.[3] In the legends recorded of Guatama in Buddhist works, it is noted that a dish floating against the stream was one of the miracles which proved the approaching consummation of his aspirations, and of his having acquired the position of a Buddha. Various circumstances, proving a connection between the worship of the sun and the worship of

[1] *Trial of Dame Alice Kyteler for Sorcery*, A.D. 1324, published by the Camden Society, introduction, p. 12.

In the parish of Monzie, in Perthshire, there is a well whose waters were held in great estimation until the fall of two trees that grew over it. With that event, which occurred about 1775, confidence in the virtues of the waters of this well appears to have ceased.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xv. p. 254.

[2] Wright's *Magic and Sorcery*, vol. i. p. 78.

[3] Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 7.

The force of the spring at Shadar, in the Hebrides, and an eddy in the stream of the Niranjara in Maghada (Bahar), will easily solve the occult powers attributed to the well, and the miracle by which the waters of the river acknowledged the presence of a Buddha.

fountains, have been already mentioned ; and to these may be added divination, which was commonly practised at many, probably at all, fountains resorted to by the superstitious. At the well of Shadar a peculiar form of divination was employed ; but that most commonly used is to watch the manner in which the coin or piece of metal, were it but a common pin, descends when thrown into the well. Not only from the course it takes in sinking, but also from the air-bubbles which it emancipates, and the way in which they reach the surface and disappear, did, and still do, superstitious persons draw auguries in regard to the success of their aspirations and the reception of their oblations. As several of the most famous of such fountains have never been Christianised by receiving a saint's name, the supernatural power relied on must be a heathen object of worship ; and from what I have already stated preponderating evidence points to Phœbus, the fate-foretelling deity of Delphi, the guide of emigrating races to their new abodes.[1] In the island of Barra are several columnar stone circles, near one of which is a well, famous not only for curing, but also for preventing the evil effects of fascination. It is called Tobar-nam-buadh, the Well of Virtues.[2]

In Armorica, even more than in Britain and Ireland, are retained all the superstitious practices that are noticed in this chapter regarding fountains. Superstition upheld by artifice has created and maintained the belief in countries of Asia and in Europe that certain individuals or societies, through the

[1] Lucan's *Pharsalia*, b. v.

[2] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xix. p. 335.

medium often of inanimate objects, could at any time bring down a supply of rain. Such supernatural powers were, both in the East and in the West, believed to be inherent, and also hereditary, in families and fraternities. I shall limit my examples of this superstition to one from Ceylon in the extreme south of India; one in the extreme west of Europe, in Brittany; and one in the Western Isles of Scotland.

On the summit of Namina Koole, a mountain which rises to a height of nearly seven thousand feet in the island of Ceylon, there are several small ponds which in the driest seasons are never entirely without water. After long-continued droughts, when springs and streams are insufficient to nourish the rice-crops in the plains below, the priests of the Temple of Katragam at Badoola are occasionally prevailed on to ascend the mountain and perform the ceremonies necessary to insure a fall of rain. Having reached the summit, the priests sprinkle water from the ponds in every direction, and on all the persons who have accompanied them. So efficacious are these rites, or so well chosen is the time for their performance, that the rain never fails to set in before the weather-wise impostors and their dupes have reached the bottom of the mountain. The same belief prevailed in Brittany, and the same ceremonies were practised at the fountain of Balanton, which is still supposed to possess its former miraculous properties if there were individuals of sufficient powers who knew how to turn them to account. Formerly, in times of excessive drought, it was customary for the Lords of Montfort to sprinkle water from the fountain of Balanton

on Merlin's-stone, which is close to the water.[1] This rite was followed by an abundant fall of rain over all Brittany, which set in so immediately after the ceremony that the Lord of Montfort had not time to reach his castle of Comper before suffering from the storm which he had evoked. The fountain of Balanton, or Baranton, is situated in the forest of Broceliande,[2] in that valley where, beneath the shade of the white hawthorn copse, the enchanter Merlin is still supposed to be detained by the spell of his pupil Viviane.[3]

I do not presume to give an opinion on the rival claims of Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica, to the "domicile" of King Arthur and his Paladins, and Merlin with his magical powers. Whether the enchanter remains unseen, imprisoned in the county of Caermarthen or in the country of the Morbihan—whether King Arthur held his court at Kerdluel, and was buried in the neighbouring islet of Agalon on the coast of Brittany, or was interred and re-interred at Glastonbury in Somersetshire[4]—whether the spot pointed out near the banks of the Elorn in Finistere be the *true* site of the castle of Lancelot de Lac, or whether "Her Majesty's fortress of Berwick-upon-Tweed" now occupies its place; one thing must be admitted—viz., that the memory of all these worthies is far more vividly retained in Brittany than in Great Britain.

[1] Hippolyte Violeau, *Pelérinages de Bretagne*, p. 289.

Souvestre's *La Bretagne et les Bretons*, vol. i. pp. 112, 113.

[2] Commune de Concoret, arrondissement de Ploermel, department de Morbihan.

[3] St. Fillan's Well, at Strowan in Perthshire, when properly solicited, and its saint's image washed in the waters, was capable of giving a miraculous fall of rain as well as the fountain of Balanton.

[4] Which, to suit the tradition, is declared to have been an island.

Martin gives an account of a stone about five feet in length,[1] in the form of a cross, which was called the "Water Cross," and supposed by the inhabitants of the Western Isles of Scotland to have the power, when properly treated, of bringing down rain. When this was required the stone was placed erect, and so retained until sufficient rain had fallen; then the "Water Cross" was laid prostrate until its influence was again to be put in force. Another way of procuring rain by the Celts on the west of Scotland was to bring forth a cloth, a relic of St. Columba, which being flaunted in the air brought down a copious supply of water from the heavens.[2]

The water of a well at Struthill, and of a pool in Strathfillan, it was believed, if used with certain rites, would cure insanity. At Struthill the patient, after being bathed, was bound to a stone near the well, and left all night; and if the cure was to be effected the patient was miraculously unloosed. In 1688 evidence was given before the presbytery of Stirling of a woman having been so bound and unloosed on two successive nights at Struthill well, and of her having been cured of her madness. The ceremonies at Strathfillan were of the same kind; only the patient was bound in a small neighbouring chapel, the ruins of which still exist. In the eighteenth century it is affirmed that about two hundred insane persons were annually brought to be subjected to this treatment at Strathfillan.[3]

[1] Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 59.

[2] *Life of St. Columba*, by Adamnan; the same thing is mentioned in the saint's life by Cominius.

[3] Sir J. Graham Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, quoting Sibbald's MS. collections, pp. 82, 83; Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 15.

Lakes and Rivers.

At Loch Siant, or Shiant, which the Reverend Dr. Martin calls also "the sacred lake," the water, the fish which it contained, and the adjoining copse, were all considered sacred "to the divinity of the place," in whose rites the Diasuil (sunwise) procession was used, and to whom offerings were left of scraps of clothing, coloured threads, small coins and pieces of metal, down to pins.[1] "Dowloch is a small lake on the top of a hill in the parish of Penpont, Dumfriesshire, and famous in the days of superstition for curing all manner of diseases. Those who resorted to it for relief left some part of their dress to the guardian genii of the lake."[2]

In Strathaven some of the mystical practices used on New Year's Day have reference to the worship of rivers, which Gildas accuses our countrymen of adhering to. Part of these rites are evidently borrowed from the ceremonies commonly practised on Beltane and Midsummer's Day, and are derived from a period anterior to the introduction of Christianity. For the protection of the family during the ensuing year a person is despatched to draw water from a ford in the river, where both dead and living had crossed; and having filled the pitcher, to return to the house, having all the time carefully preserved silence. Neither must the pitcher have been allowed to touch the ground, or the virtue of the water would

[1] Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 140. Rev. D. Martin's "Parish of Kilmuir, Isle of Skye, 1793," *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 556.

[2] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 206—"Parish of Penpont, in the county of Dumfries," by the Rev. William Keyden.

be withdrawn. Fire was then lighted, and the inmates were sprinkled with this mystical water. They were also fumigated with the incense of burnt juniper branches. All the horses, cattle, and sheep had also the benefit of sprinkling and fumigation, which was intended to prevent any malign influence that might have otherwise assailed them through the year of which this ceremony was the commencement.[1]

The Worship of Trees.

"Hee that hath seene a great oake dry and dead,
Yet clad with reliques of some Trophees old,
Lifting to heaven her aged hoarie head,
Whose foote on ground hath left but feeble hold;
But half disbowel'd lies aboue the ground,
Showing her wreathed rootes, and naked armes,
And on her trunke all rotten and unsound,
Only supports herselfe for meat for wormes;
And though she owe her fall to the first wind,
Yet of the devout people is adored."

Ruins of Rome, Edmund Spencer.

Trees have not only been regarded with veneration as emblems of religion, but in many countries were acknowledged as objects of worship.[2] In Britain the worship of forest trees, particularly the oak, was a portion of the heathenism of our ancestors, and was condemned by enactments of the civil and

[1] From *Lectures on the Mountains, or Highlands and Highlanders in* 1860, it would appear that these rites are still observed.

A ceremony nearly resembling this was practised annually on a magnificent scale at the Candian capital in Ceylon, and is referred to in the chapter on "Customs common to the Inhabitants of Asia and the Celts."

[2] In the Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum there are many representations of the worship of trees.

The tree raised on a platform also appears in the emblematic delineations of Mexico. See Aglio's splendid work on Mexico, published at London in 1830.

ecclesiastical authorities after the introduction of Christianity.[1] The oak, although pre-eminent among trees held sacred both in Palestine and in Britain, was not the only member of the forest that was looked on with reverence among the Jews and the Celts.[2] From various ancient authors we learn that the Druids offered human sacrifices and performed other barbarous rites in sacred groves; and Pliny informs us that the Druids made use of the branches or leaves of the oak in all their religious ceremonies, and considered whatever grew on it as sent from heaven. The misletoe in particular, when found on the oak, was cut with magical ceremonies. The priest, clad in a white robe, using a golden sickle, cut off the misletoe, which was received by those below the tree in a white cloak. Two white bulls were then sacrificed, and prayers concluded the ceremony of appropriating this auspicious gift of the gods.[3]

At Loch Siant, in the Isle of Skye, there was an oak copse which was deemed so sacred that no person would venture to cut the smallest branch of it.[4] In the eighth century St. Boniface found it expedient for the advancement of Christianity to cause an oak tree to be cut down that was

[1] *Liber Poenitentialis* of Theodore, xxvii. 18; of Ecgbert; *Canons of Edgar; Laws of Cnut;* Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. i. p. 379; vol. ii. pp. 34, 191, 249.

[2] Amongst the Celts the wych-elm, elder, and mountain-ash seem to have been regarded as possessing occult powers. Under the elm, as well as under the oak, appears to have been a chosen place for the performance of ceremonies, and burning incense to idols, as practised by the Jews (Hosea iv. 13; Ezek. vi. 4-16; Isa. i. 29; and lvii. 5, 6.)

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* b. xvi. c. 95; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 104.

[4] Martin's *Western Isles of Scotland*, pp. 140-142.

dedicated to a heathen deity.[1] Joan of Arc was accused of having gone alone to make garlands, and crown the fairy oak of Bourlemont.[2] It was on a fire made with *oak* sticks that Dame Alice Kyteler in 1324 was accused of boiling hellish compounds, in the skull of a felon, for objects of sorcery.[3] To protect himself from evil spirits the Highlander with an *oak* sapling draws a circle round himself;[4] and on the eastern coast of Scotland withies of oak and ivy are cut in March, at the increase of the moon, and being twisted into wreaths or circles are preserved until next March. After that period consumptive persons were passed thrice through these circles in the belief that they would be cured.[5]

In Mithraic coins a tree or plant is commonly represented rising apparently from various terraces; or it may be only intended to represent an altar beneath the shade of a tree. This is the more likely, as we know that to light and heat, to the sun and moon, the devotees of Mithras in the East erected their altars under trees and in groves; and we find the worship of the groves used in the Bible as synonymous with the adoration of Astarte or the lunar deity.[6]

On the continent of India various trees and plants are

[1] And his example is said to have been followed in later periods.—*Universal History, Ancient*, vol. xviii. p. 565; vol. xix. p. 77.

[2] *Trial of Dame Alice Kyteler*, published by Camden Society, p. xii.

[3] Wright's *Sorcery and Magic*, vol. i. p. 29.

[4] Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 46.

[5] *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. ii. p. 171. Edit. 1821.

[6] Of the worship of Mithras and Astarte in Britain there are proofs from existing altars and other remains, but these altars are all of the Roman period.—See Wright's *Early Inhabitants of Britain*, pp. 268-271, etc. etc.

consecrated to different gods, and in Ceylon the Bó, or sacred fig-tree,[1] is dedicated to Gautama Buddha. There a tree, springing from successive terraces raised on each other, represents not only a religious emblem but a historical fact. Such a tree now exists in the deserted but still highly venerated city of Anuradhapoora, the ancient capital of Ceylon. Neither is there anything incredible in the assertion, nor miraculous in the fact, that this sylvan object of religious veneration has occupied its present position for more than twenty centuries. This alone would make it be regarded with interest, and its history may fairly claim to be considered authentic. But regarding the subject now under consideration it requires notice as having been referred to as the probable original[2] of the tree in the sculptured stones of Scotland. At the same time I must express my dissent from that theory, although the emblematic trees of Buddhist and Druid may have been symbols derived from a common origin in periods of remote antiquity.

The sacred tree of Anuradhapoora is the principal object of pilgrimage in that city which contains so many and such vast monuments reared in honour of the relics of Gautama Buddha, and as memorials of his visit to sites which are now occupied by these mounts of masonry. The tree was originally a slip from that under which Gautama reposed when he became a Buddha, after his long sojourn in the wilderness, his fast of forty-nine days, and his final victory over Márya and

[1] Ficus religiosa.

[2] *Transactions of Royal Society of Scotland*, vol. xxi. part ii. 1854-55.

a legion of demons—*i.e.* death, deadly sins, and evil passions.[1] That slip is now represented by the sacred tree of Anuradhapoora, at which place it arrived B.C. 307 in charge of the priestess Sanghamitta.[2] The representation of a plant in a vase, commonly seen in Buddhist temples, is intended to depict this shoot in the golden flower-pot in which it was brought to Ceylon.[3]

The sacred tree of Anuradhapoora may now with sufficient accuracy be termed a grove; it occupies the terraces, and some of its limbs project through the masonry in the sides of four square platforms raised on each other, each stage being of so much less size than that on which it is built as to allow of a path around, from which steps lead up to the higher terraces. The tree stands in the centre of an enclosed space, in which are remains of buildings reared in its honour, and many trees or shoots that have sprung from its roots or its seeds. The long-continued existence of this tree would appear incredible, were it not for the self-renovating powers of the *Ficus religiosa*. And those who have seen this venerated memorial will acknowledge that to eradicate all its members would be a task as difficult as it would be unworthy. None

[1] From *Mara*, death, lust, cupidity.

[2] Sent by Dharmasoka, king of India, to the king of Ceylon. In that island the form of the leaf of this tree, under the native dynasty, was not allowed to be painted or sculptured on any article which was not royal property.

[3] Vance describes the sculpture representing a tree in a flower-pot which was found amongst the ruins of Hagar-Kim in Malta. This was probably an emblem of Phœnician worship, such as that still practised in Sardinia, where the vase, and the plant of corn growing in it, represent a part of the worship of Hermes, but in ancient times was called the garden of Adonis.—See Forester's *Sardinia*, p. 334.

Sacred Tree, Anuradhapoora, Ceylon.

Keith & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen.

of its many stems or limbs are of great size, nor do they appear to be of great age. Still there it stands, having maintained itself for twenty-one centuries. It has also furnished shoots not only to every temple and village in Ceylon, but to many places in other countries which profess the Buddhist religion.

The *Ficus religiosa* grows wild in the forest, but any one that has derived its origin from the sacred tree at Anuradhapoora is surrounded with a terrace, on which there is a miniature altar, where any one may offer flowers to the Buddha. Many of its descendants far surpass in size any of the stems of the parent tree, and it is usually under their grateful shade, and impressed with its religious influence, that the natives of Ceylon hold their village courts and councils. The Cingalese also believe that in the ceaseless rustling of the foliage of this beautiful tree they hear the unintelligible whisperings of the village ancestors, and that the leaves are stirred by the spirits of "the rude forefathers of the hamlet."

The emblem now under consideration—viz., the tree on the sculptured stones of Scotland—like that in the worship of Mithras, Hermes, Brahma, Buddha, and others, may possibly have been derived from a common origin, and certainly as a Buddhist emblem existed previous to the era of Gautama Buddha, or 543 years B.C. The legends of Buddhism even mention the particular trees that were consecrated as the emblems of those Buddhas who preceded Gautama.[1] It is

[1] A further proof of the antiquity of the tree as an emblem or an object of mystery, is the Cingalese legend that the Kalpawruksha, the all-producing and all-sufficing tree of Buddhist cosmogony, still flourishes in a world below or within the earth. There, it is said, also exists the race of Nágas,

therefore necessary to look to earlier times for the establishment of the tree as a religious emblem, and it is a curious fact that in Cingalese cosmogony there is the tree possessing properties and producing events bearing an extraordinary analogy to some of those described in the first book of Genesis. This is the more remarkable from other coincidences in the Cingalese account of the creation with that given in the Bible; whilst, at the same time, the discrepancies on the whole are too great to admit of the Cingalese being deemed merely a perverted copy of the Scripture record. To explain the place which the tree called Kalpawruksha holds in Buddhist cosmogony, it is necessary to give an outline of the present formation of the world as described in Cingalese works.

The earth having been destroyed by fire, with its oceans and atmosphere, formed one chaotic mass. The fire was eventually overcome by water, which covered the earth in every part, until a great wind in part absorbed and dissipated the flood, so that portions of land, the present visible world, appeared. Then succeeded five extended periods, when immortal beings visited, but were not restricted to the earth. In the first of these periods there was no vegetation; in the second the vegetation was of the nature of mushrooms; in

snakes possessing human intellect and the form of the Nága (cobra di capello). The supercession of the early snake-worship may account for part of the legend, but the mystery of the tree remains unexplained. On considering the expression Kalpawruksha as a whole, it is "the tree producing whatever is desirable;" but *kalpa* is an immensely-extended period of time, and *wruksha* a tree, and probably relates to the cosmical mystery of the progressive foundation of the world according to Buddhists.

the third there were various plants, but not those of the fullest development; in the fourth appeared the Kalpawruksha, the tree which produced everything necessary or desirable for the beings then in existence, but on account of their wickedness, which had been increasing in each successive period, the Kalpawruksha became extinct. Then commenced the fifth period, in which a variety of plants sprang up. Having eaten of these, the beings then on earth became mortal, and found themselves in darkness. It was then they were formed male and female, and lost the power of returning to the heavenly mansions. These beings had theretofore been liable to mental passions, such as envy, covetousness, and ambition. Thereafter, in addition, corporeal passions developed themselves, and the race, that which now inhabits the earth, became subject to all the evils that afflict humanity. Before these beings were reduced to the condition of mortals light attended on or emanated from them. After their fall all was darkness. Then arose in daily succession the sun, the moon, and the five great planets from which the days of the week received their names.

It would be an easy task to accumulate evidence of sacred groves existing in connection with the rude stone altars of Britain,[1] as well as in many other countries. But the distinct account left us by Tacitus renders it unnecessary to quote particular cases. In his condensed record of the attack on the island of Anglesea by Paulinus Suetonius in A.D. 61, and the proceedings of the Romans there after vanquishing

[1] See Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 71, *note*.

the Britons, we perceive the connection of the Druids with the religious groves and the altars on which human beings were sacrificed.[1] From the agonies of these victims the Druids pretended to divine the issue of coming events; but they failed to foresee their own fate in Anglesea, where they perished in the fires which they had kindled for the immolation of expected captives.

In the sculptured stones as yet discovered in Britain the tree does not appear unless in those where the cross is part of the design. Yet it is accompanied by other emblems that are clearly of heathen origin. Mr. Penhouet describes, among the figures sculptured on a dolmen in Armorica,[2] the branch of a tree, the other emblems being the circle single and concentric, the horse-shoe, and the harp. Unfortunately this dolmen is no longer in existence.

In the volume of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland* the tree appears twice,[3] in both cases raised on a terrace, and in one the tree has a serpent on each side. On Phœnician coins a tree entwined by a serpent is not an uncommon device. The palm-tree is also a Phœnician emblem. But it is to be remarked that neither on Phœnician nor on Indian coins or sculptures, where the tree is represented, is it in the form of a palm;[4] which is a proof that it was shade and not produce that caused trees to be held in veneration. Yet the palms, with the exception of shade, yield nearly all things necessary

[1] Tacitus, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 38.

[2] "Archéologie Armoricaine," *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxvi. p. 233.

[3] Plates LXXXVI. and XC.

[4] The sacred tree in Assyrian sculptures appears, however, to be a palm-tree.

to man's existence, whilst the peepul and spreading banian only afford delight to the eye and shelter from the rays of the sun.

The Duw-Celi of Celtic bards has been translated by Welsh scholars the "Hidden God." As the word Celi or Celli, with little variation,[1] signifies a place of shade, a thicket, a grove, in Welsh, Irish, Gaelic, and Cornish—may not the Duw-Celi be the god worshipped in the groves?[2]—the god for which "the groves" is sometimes used in the Bible.[3] Kelli, the Cornish for thicket or grove,[4] nearly resembles the Cingalese word, which has the same meaning—viz. Kelai. This word is sometimes in Scotland the name of a place, and is also used in combination with other Celtic expressions in the names of many places.

Like the grove, the connection of the word used for tree in Sanscrit and Celtic is easily traced—in Sanscrit *Druh,* in

[1] Welsh, *Celli;* Irish and Gaelic, *Coille;* Cornish, *Kelli.*

[2] The Abudho Deyio, the *nameless* or *unknown God* of the Cingalese was, I have little doubt, akin to the "unknown God" mentioned in the Acts. The Abudho Deyio was the god of secrecy, the patron of thieves; and it was in following the traces of stolen property that his temple in the recesses of a forest was accidentally discovered by messengers of the judicial court of Matalai in Ceylon. Portions of property, the *produce* of various robberies, were discovered which had been offered to this god, the perpetrators believing that through his influence they would avoid detection. The real name of the god, if he has one, I could not discover; but my impression was that the witnesses were afraid to pronounce it, and therefore denied any knowledge of his being called otherwise than the "unknown God."

[3] *Ashera,* which our translators render *grove* (1 Kings xviii. 19; 2 Kings xxiii. 7), has been supposed to be an abbreviated form of Ashtoreth, but is a different deity, whose images were of wood, not fashioned in a human form.—Kenrick's *Phœnicia,* p. 302, quoting Movers, vol. i. p. 566.

[4] Polwhele's *Cornwall,* vol. i. p. 168.

Persian *Dirakht*, in Gaelic *Darrah* (an oak), in Welsh *Derw*, in Irish *Dair*.

Amongst trees probably held sacred by our pagan ancestors, and certainly regarded by all later generations in Scotland as affording some mysterious protection to men and their herds from evil powers, the rowan or mountain-ash is the most generally appreciated.[1] The elder or bourtree is also esteemed, but in a less degree, as a preservative from the occult accidents and influences which, by the superstitious, are believed to proceed from the malignant and supernatural powers. The rowan, it has been remarked,[2] grows more frequently than any other tree in the neighbourhood of the columnar stone circles; but this might be accounted for by these stones being used by the birds to perch on, and the seed having thus been brought to these localities. The connection of this tree with ancient superstition and modern practices is shown by many customs. On the first day of May (Beltane-day) in Strathspey the sheep and lambs were made in the morning and evening to pass through a hoop made of the rowan-tree. The cattle are driven to the hill-pastures with a rod of the same.[2] A piece of this tree is deposited over doors where either human beings or inferior animals are to be protected against malign influences. This is practised in England[3] as well as in Scotland; and in Wales, says Evelyn, "this tree is reputed so sacred that there

[1] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, "Parish of Tongland, in Kirkcudbrightshire," vol. ix. p. 328.

[2] Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, article "Rowan-tree."

[3] Sir J. Graham Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 402, quoting Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire*, vi. p. 52.

is not a churchyard without one of them planted in it. So on a certain day of the year everybody religiously wears a cross made of this wood."[1]

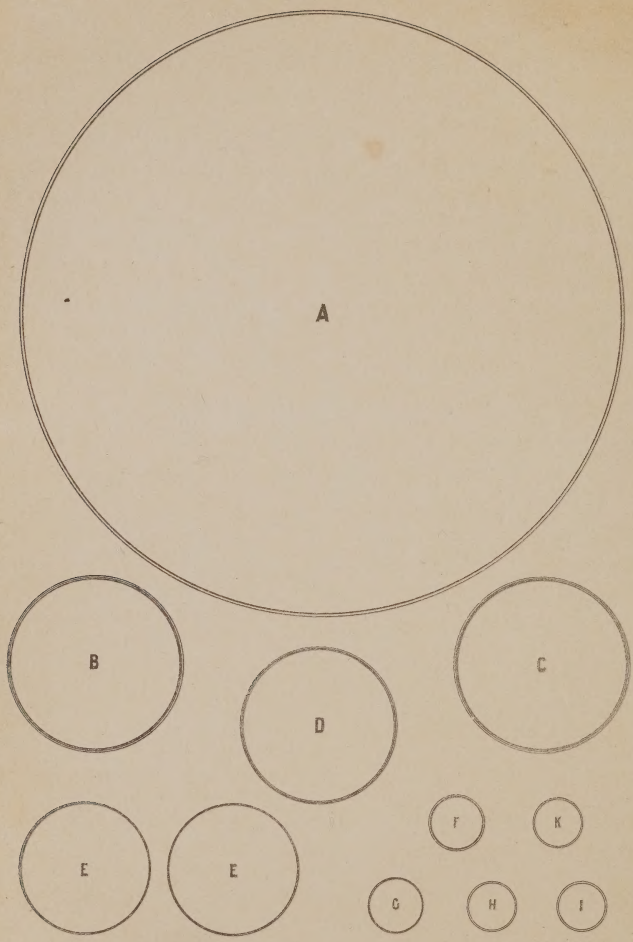
The Brakenfern is believed to have been esteemed by the Druids; no insect attacks its leaves; it fades and withers while its foliage is still perfect; and in Brittany there is a belief that if the root be cut across it shows the likeness of an oak. Under the great dolmen on the heights above Loc-Maria-Ker there is, among the sculptures, a figure of doubtful signification called a fern-leaf. Fern-leaves gathered on Hallowe'en were particularly used for Beltane fires.

As we know that the Celts were addicted to divination, it is not improbable that their sacred oaks, or the spirit they represented, were believed to possess fate-foretelling power like the ancient sylvan oracle of Hellas, the oak of Dodona.

Amongst the figures represented in a mosaic pavement lately discovered by Dr. Davis under the ruins of Carthage there is a plant in a flower-pot depicted on the ornamental border, and placed at each of the four corners. It seems to be disputed whether this mosaic be Phœnician or not; but even if it were executed after the conquest of Carthage, the ornamental design may be of local origin. By whatever race

[1] Evelyn's *Silva*, p. 219. Branches of the rowan-tree, decorated with heath and flowers which had been thrice carried around the fires lighted at Beltane, were placed in the dwellings of the Irish and Scots to protect the inmates from all malignant influences. There these branches remained until replaced by a similar protection the next season.—M'Pherson's *Introduction to History of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp. 164-166; Sir J. Graham Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 9.

designed, the plant in the flower-pot is evidently not copied from nature; yet is so nearly identical with those on the sculptured stones of Scotland in all their peculiarities as to point to the probability of both having a common origin.



Comparative size of the Principal Stone Circles of Great Britain.

		Feet			Feet
A	*Large Circle at Avebury*	1,300	Diam.r	F *Second Circle, Stanton Drew*	120 Diam.r
B	*Ring of Brogar, Stennes*	342	„	K *Roll Rich Stones*	105 „
C	*Largest Circle Stanton Drew*	342	„	G *Castle Rig, Keswick*	108 „
D	*Long Meg's Daughters*	330	„	H *Stonehenge*	100 „
E.E.	*Inner Circles, Avebury*	270	„	I *Second Circle, Stennes*	100 „

CHAPTER VIII.

PRIMITIVE STONE MONUMENTS, AND THEIR ANTIQUITY.[1]

Monolithic Columnar Circles were of different kinds, and intended for different purposes—Their Form devised in warm climates—Their *Origin* previous to any record—Varieties of Primitive Monuments—No rational Traditions, but similar fabulous Legends regarding their erection—Rude Circular Fanes now commonly reared in India—Proofs of the Antiquity of Stones sculptured with Heathen symbols—Sculptured Stones found in the Castle-hill of Kintore; on the Rock of Dinnacair; Classernish; Stennis—Remains in the Country of the Veneti—Silbury-hill.

PHILOLOGISTS of the present century, with wonderful perseverance and success, have developed affinities in the languages of various nations from the borders of China to the shores of the Atlantic. This renders more worthy of attention the fact, that over the same vast region, even in countries where such links of common ancestry or early communication have not yet been established, there is often a particular and always a general resemblance in the Cyclopean memorials of a remote era. As regards Persia, the identity of form in rude monuments of that country with those of Britain was pointed out long before the affinity of the Celtic to the Zend or Sanskrit was dreamt of; and eighteen centuries ago Pliny re-

[1] By primitive stone monuments I mean those of rude construction and apparent antiquity, of the *origin* of which in any country there is no authentic record nor rational tradition.

corded the similarity of the magical arts of the British Druids and the Persian Magi.[1]

Whether the columnar Cyclopean structures of Celtic countries were erected as temples for the administration of religious ceremonies, as courts of justice, as places for the assembly of councils and the inauguration of princes, or as sepulchres, has given rise to much discussion. But for whatever they were originally destined, some of them were probably used for each, and some for all these purposes, although not perhaps by the same tribe, at least not in the same periods. If what are called Druidical circles are carefully examined, it will be perceived that many of them possess distinctive features that clearly mark a difference in the objects for which they were intended.

In the rude fanes of other countries, as well as in those of our pagan ancestors, we cannot expect to find that identity of form in details which we shall look for in vain in the temples, ancient and modern, of any religion existing or extinct. A Hindu pagoda, Buddhist dagoba, Mohammedan mosque, or Christian church, is never seen identical in size and form with any other of its co-religious edifices ; yet the temples of each of these religions have a distinctive character by which, in their most extreme difference and in the most distant lands, they may be still recognised. This is also the case with the widely-extended Cyclopean monuments, and tends to show

[1] The similarity in "popular tales" is another subject that bears upon the early connection of the ancestors of many nations that are now geographically remote. This branch of ethnological lore assumed a position of importance under the Brothers Grimm; and, as regards the Norse and Gaelic, has been lately developed in the works of Dasent and Campbell.

that they are derived from a common model. As regards those of Caledonia, they are probably the earliest memorials of religions of which the latest material evidences are the "sculptured stones of Scotland."

The areas of temples, open, and only designated by masses of rock, with their long avenues of unhewn columns of stone, are well fitted for religious ceremonies and processions, and for judicial and civil purposes, in a warm climate and under the blue sky of tropical countries. The reverse is the case as regards the cloudy atmosphere and uncertain weather so prevalent on the promontories of Armorica and in the British Islands, and is a very strong argument for considering that the pagan fanes of these countries were modelled from Asiatic originals. Nations, whether tempted or impelled onwards, or migrating in obedience to some law of our nature which has led to the diffusion of mankind, would doubtless preserve the form of their ancient places of worship and assembly; and circular temples defined by small pyramidal-shaped stones, such as may often be seen extemporised in the Dekhan of India, could always have been prepared when the migrating horde halted on a journey or rested for a season.

Not only is there an absence of any direct information, but no data that would assist in fixing, even approximately, the period when any of the primitive remains, the unhewn columnar temples or stone altars, were erected in Britain. But from the quotation in Diodorus Siculus of Hecatæus it is probable that in the fourth century B.C. there was in Britain a circular temple, the fame of which had reached to the shores

of Asia. Places of worship formed of rude monoliths, judging from their remains, appear to have preceded, some of them by very many ages, any monuments in which the columns were shaped, however roughly, or sculptured, however rudely. Yet no authority enables us to assign a date for the erection of those that are sculptured with purely heathen emblems; but the connection, or—if the expression be admissible—the descent of the hewn and sculptured stones from their rugged ancestors can be established; also the continuance of the circular columnar fanes as sacred places, until they came to be used for and were superseded by Christian churches; and Christian symbols are found mixed with heathen emblems on the sculptured stones of Scotland.

Previous to tracing the sculptured stones in descent from those that were unhewn it is important to distinguish the varieties of primitive monuments, to which it will be necessary more particularly to refer.

The most important are the circular or oval areas defined by detached stones. These are commonly known as "Druid circles" in Britain, and by what is a far more descriptive and equally correct name in Brittany—viz. Cromlech, or the stone-circles. Cromlech in Britain is a term now only applied to the raised altars, sacrificial or sepulchral, which by the Bretons are called Dolmens,[1] a word which has also an appropriate and descriptive meaning—viz. table-stones, from Taul

[1] From Gibson's *Camden* it would appear that the word Cromlech or Gromlech was formerly used in Wales for the circular columnar fanes.

or Daul, signifying table, and Maen, stone.[1] The Menhirs—from the Celtic words Mén, a stone, and Hir, long—are the great unhewn columns, often selected of a pyramidal form, and fixed upright; Pulven, lesser-sized stones, but placed upright like the Menhir; Lichaven, two upright stones, supporting one across their tops; Galgals, great cairns or mounds composed entirely of stones; Barrows, mounds composed of earth, or of earth and stones mixed; Kistvaen, stone-chests, is an expression now used to designate monuments that appear as different in the objects for which they were intended as in their dimensions. The name has been sometimes indiscriminately applied to stones that lined a grave, and to a chamber formed of great slabs, fixed vertically, covered by one of surpassing size, and which only differed from the dolmen in being closed all round. Another variety is open only at one side, but consists occasionally of one, two, or three cells: Kits-Coity-House, in Kent, has been taken as a specimen of one of these with a single cell. If it is not a dolmen, it is a double cell, being divided near the middle. Coity or Cotty House, applied to this cell, may possibly be derived from the Celtic word Coit or Coet, which in Cornish and Armorican signifies a grove. From this word possibly the term Quoit, still applied to many large stone monuments,[2] has had its

[1] In Britain there is also another form of monument called Tol-men, where there is either a perforation in the stone or a small passage through beneath a large stone supported on others.

[2] The Devil's Quoits, near Stanton-Harcourt, Oxfordshire; Halkett's or Hautvill's Quoits, at Stanton-Drew in Somersetshire; Lanion-Quoit, Chun-Quoit, and many others, in Cornwall; Quoits at Avebury in Wiltshire, etc. Coit-Maur, a great wood in Somersetshire; Coid-Andred, in Sussex, a wild

origin, as we are informed that the rites of the Druids were performed and their altars erected in groves. This view is supported by one of the divisions of the people in ancient Britain[1] being called Coitanni, who are described as inhabiting a country overspread with woods.[2] From Kent and Cornwall to the northern extremity of Caledonia, and in all the adjacent islands, from the Scilly to the Hebrides and the Orkneys, there is a general conformity in the design of the primitive monuments. That many of them, or their remains, should in later times be found applied to other purposes than those originally intended, is only what might be expected ; it therefore requires careful examination before attempting to decide what is primitive and what has been subsequently imposed on, remodelled in, or removed from these ancient monuments.

In the early and heathen ages, to which these notices refer, the origin of all the primitive stone memorials, as well as the argument in regard to the race by which they were erected, is in Caledonia less complicated than a discussion on similar remains in Gaul and South Britain. Caledonia did not fall under Roman or Anglo-Saxon dominion; neither have

and woody region (Gibson's *Camden, Britannia*, vol. i. p. 182) ; Coet-Maes, the wooded field (*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 419); Coed-Trath, near Tenby, Pembrokeshire. There the stumps of trees were seen when a violent storm removed part of the sands (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 33) ; Koeten-Arthur, a dolmen near Harlech, Merionethshire (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 50).

In Borlase's *Cornish Vocabulary* Quoit or Koeten is translated "a broad thin stone," a description by no means applicable to the form of some of the stones called Quoits in various parts of England.

[1] Leicester, Lincoln, and Nottingham shires.

[2] "Coitanni in tractu sylvis obsito." Ricardi Cicestrensis *De Situ Britanniæ*.

there appeared any authentic records, sufficient reasons, nor even weighty arguments, to support the theories of other important intrusive elements on the Celtic race which indisputably, principally in its Gaelic branch, occupied North Britain.

There is no historical nor other conclusive evidence of the occupation of Caledonia by any race prior to the Celtic. But an accumulation of facts may supply sufficient proof of that which is now only a cogent probability—viz., that pre-Celtic aborigines possessed the country, and may have reared some of its primitive monuments.

Although some of the most prominent and peculiar forms of Cyclopean monuments are common to countries in Asia, Africa, and Europe, the only people in whose records we find any notice of the erection of primitive stone monuments are the Jews; and from their narrations we perceive that the Canaanites were previously accustomed to the same forms of memorials and places of worship. Thus, even in Palestine, the *origin* of such works is thrown back to indefinite antiquity. Rude stones, regularly placed and defining sacred areas, with altars enclosed or attached—devotional, memorial, and inaugural stones—altars of unhewn stones;—all these were therefore in use before any details in the history of mankind were recorded. Josephus refers to a pillar or pillars[1] existing in his time which had been erected by the children of Seth, to preserve a memorial of the astronomical discoveries of their race. It may be taken as evidence that these pillars were

[1] *Antiquities of the Jews*, c. ii. b. i.

of an unknown age when the Jewish historian calls them antediluvian.[1]

In treating separately of the various kinds of primitive stone monuments in Scotland, and in the Celtic countries of Western Europe, reference will be made to particular instances in the Hebrew records. This renders it unnecessary in this place to examine the general resemblance of memorials erected by Abraham and his descendants with those that are commonly, and may be correctly, called Druidical remains in Britain. This part of the subject has been fully treated of by a late[2] writer, and touched on by many. I shall therefore pass to other evidences and arguments that prove the great antiquity of these monuments in various countries, more particularly in Britain and Caledonia.

The first circumstance that attracts notice is the fact, that notwithstanding these monuments existed in all parts of this country, and in some localities are still to be seen in great numbers, yet there is neither record nor rational tradition regarding the erection of any one of them. The same remark is applicable to similar remains in the Dekhan of India, on the northern coasts of Africa, and on the promontories of Armorica. In pointing to such monuments of forgotten ages an inhabitant of these countries only accounts for their erection by repeating legends all alike puerile, and only so far profitable as they show that the antiquity of the

[1] Possibly such were the "stones of picture" referred to in Lev. xxxvi. 1.

[2] Kitto, in his *History of Palestine*, had collected most of the facts then known on this point in his first volume, under two heads—viz. "Druidical" and "Stone."

Stone Avenues, Carnac, Brittany.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Delr

Keith & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen

relics lies beyond the reach of local tradition. Possibly also the similarity of these fabulous legends may be admitted as an argument that they, as well as the forms of the monuments, were derived from a common source.

On the plains of Central India you will be told that the groups of monoliths are men, their flocks and herds, which were changed into stone as a punishment for disrespect to a deity and disregard of his priesthood. In Northern Africa an assemblage of circular fanes is formed of stone pillars, which the inhabitants say were once giants. In Brittany the avenues of Carnac are said to be petrified battalions, and the detached menhirs to be the commanders of these heathen soldiers, who were thus transformed at the moment they were about to seize and put to death St. Cornily. By this miracle that devout Christian escaped from pagan violence, and remains the patron saint of the place. In Somersetshire the Druidical circles at Stanton-Drew are said to have been a bridal party turned into stones. In the neighbourhood of St. Clear, in Cornwall, remains of a similar kind are known by the name of the Hurlers, from the legend that the stones represent two parties who were transformed into pillars of stone when engaged in the game of hurling on some unlawful day. The circle called Dance Main, in the parish of Burian in Cornwall, is said to represent nineteen maidens[1] who were transformed into stone for dancing on Sunday. Two larger stones on the outside are, by the same legend, declared to be

[1] Whatever Dance is derived from, it may reasonably be assumed that Main is from the Cornish and Breton word signifying stones.

pipers, who promoted the revelry and shared in the punishment.

These examples will probably be deemed more than sufficient to show that everywhere the monoliths of primitive monuments are, in legendary lore, said to have been creatures endowed with life. There is another circumstance also that may be remarked—viz., that where these monuments exist there are legends more or less directly connecting them with giants, and with a race that were dwarfs in size and giants in strength. The ponderous materials of these monuments, and low stone cells formed of immense slabs, may sufficiently account for the legendary giants and dwarfs who were invented by those who no longer reared such monuments or had any recollection of the race to which they belonged.

In another chapter reasons are given for believing that a fragment from Hecatæus, preserved by Diodorus Siculus, carries us back to the fourth century before Christ ; and then, not to record the *erection* of a great circular temple in Britain, but to testify that the fame of such an establishment had reached to the continent of Asia.

The next argument that may be adduced in proof of the antiquity of the Cyclopean fanes of Britain is, that the original and individual names of these places have in most cases passed into oblivion. Many of those that have Celtic names have evidently received them at a comparatively late period, being general and descriptive epithets, not local and individual names. Thus there are many places the Gaelic or British appellations of which are equivalent to The Circles—Circles—The

Field of Circles—The Stone Circles[1]—The Place of the Druids[2]—Giant's Circle—Giant's Dance, etc. etc. On the contrary, "Tamnaverie,[3] the Hill of Worship," is one of the few which may be considered as retaining its ancient name. This rocky mount is of a conical form, about one hundred and fifty feet in height. On the summit a small space and an earth-fast rock were surrounded by a circular stone inclosure, now almost obliterated; this part of the rock itself being in progress of destruction by a quarry. Immediately adjoining is a circle, about fifty feet in diameter, of columnar stones disposed in the usual form—viz. having a recumbent altar-stone,

[1] Stonehenge, Stanton-Drew, Stennis, Standing-stanes, Nine-stane-rig, Seven-stane-hill, and many such, are evidently names given after the arrival of Saxons and Danes. Corthes, Acorthies, Acquhorthies—names so common in the north of Scotland, are evidently from the Celtic. Cuirtich, or Cuairtich, a circle or enclosure, and Auchin, a field, although Celtic, it is equally evident are not ancient and original names. In the parish of Kiltarlity in Inverness-shire near the remains of six columnar stone circles, there is Bal-na-Carrachan—*i.e.* the Place of the Pillars or Upright Stones; Blar-na-Carrachan, the Moor of Upright Stones. In the same parish is Ard-Druighnich, the Druid's Height. Another explanation of the meaning of the name Achquhorthies has been offered—viz., that it is derived from Achadh, a field, and Iarrtas, prayer; but Iarrtas seems to be more applicable to petition or solicitation than to devotional supplication.

[2] Druid is a word used for circle in Gaelic.

[3] Tamnaverie is in the parish of Coull in Aberdeenshire. The translation—viz., the Hill of Worship—is given in the old statistical account of the parish, but I am not aware how the latter part of the translation is derived, unless it be from Vaire, which signifies in Gaelic, "fate"—"the hour of fate or death;" or Vrradh, "power;" or Vrram, "reverence" (Robertson's *Antiquities of Aberdeenshire*, vol. ii. p. 26). In the neighbouring parish of Strathdon is Binnew (or Binnuadh), the Holy Hill, so called, perhaps, from a stone on its summit, with a cavity, in which, from frequent rains on that hill, water was generally seen; and in times of superstition this water was believed to spring out of the stone, and to possess the virtue of healing various diseases. —*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xiii. p. 184.

which is about ten feet six inches in length, placed between two of the upright stones. Within this circle several low concentric walls can still be traced. Placed in the centre of the extensive valley of Cromar, the panoramic view from Tamnaverie, uninterrupted by any nearer object, is bounded on every side by hills of considerable height.

Stonehenge—at least its most imposing feature—has the appearance of being constructed at a later period than any other circular columnar monument in Britain. From accidental circumstances it has attracted more attention than other remains of greater extent and more remote antiquity. Yet we have no more authentic information regarding the erection of Stonehenge than we have of the far more wonderful monument of Avebury. Two authors in the middle of the seventeenth century, one of them being Inigo Jones, claimed Stonehenge as a work of Roman art. Dr. Charlton wrote to refute this, and avowedly to *restore* the merit of its erection to the Danes.[1] The arguments used by both writers equally fail to maintain the positions they assumed, or to elucidate any point whatever in regard to the early history or erection of this interesting monument.

In treating of the sculptured stones of Scotland reference is made to their connection with monuments formed of unhewn masses of stone. It seems a natural inference from the usual progress of art to consider that altars and fanes of rude stones preceded those in which the component

[1] Inigo Jones's work was posthumous. It was edited by Webb, and published in 1655. Dr. Charlton's *Stonehenge restored to the Danes* was published in 1663; Webb's reply in 1665.

parts were in any way fashioned by man. This view is also confirmed by the appearance of the monuments as well as by analogy derived from the history of the Jews, the Arabs, and the Phœnicians. In like manner it is probable that the simple emblems graven in outline on unhewn stones preceded by many years, or even ages, the shaping of the columns and the embellishment of the symbols.

This theory is doubtless *generally* correct; but in the Dekhan of India may be seen abundant and irresistible proofs that it cannot be invariably admitted. A remarkable instance of this fact appears in fanes so rude, humble, and inartificial that they seldom attract notice, being continually found lately arranged, even in the immediate neighbourhood of the lofty pagoda or marvellous excavation. The noble rock-cut temple of Karli, with its thickset columns and elaborate sculptures, was executed twenty centuries ago. From its entrance, and less than two miles distant, may be seen a pagoda, and nearer still places where circular fanes, formed of small stones disposed in a circle, have been newly raised to some local god; most commonly to Vetal, or Betal, one of those deities whose worship was probably anterior to the religions of either Brahma or Buddha, and which, under the name of superstitions, will probably exist when the Brahmins, like the Buddhists, have lost all power over the minds of the Maharatta population. These fanes of the most artless kind being found newly raised is a warning not to judge of the antiquity of works solely by the simplicity of form or rudeness of material; neither to depend on the absence of workmanship

as anything conclusive in arguments regarding the period when individual monuments were raised. On the other hand, it may reasonably be believed that the *form* of these rude fanes existed ages before the Brahmins usurped authority in India, or Buddha combated against their assumed monopoly of moral excellence and worldly supremacy.

The following, if it may not be called direct evidence, is strongly corroborative of the antiquity of such rude monoliths graven with emblems in outline as the sculptured stones and Caledonian hieroglyphics. At Kintore a mound known by the name of the Castle-hill was demolished in forming the North of Scotland Railway. At ten feet from the top of the mound, which, when complete, was about thirty feet in height, the workmen came to a layer of charred earth. Here originally appears to have been the summit, and Mr. John Stuart, the editor of *The Sculptured Stones*, who took much pains to investigate the particulars connected with this monument,[1] ascertained that eleven blocks and a number of small stones were found in such positions as to render it probable that a circle of large stones, connected by a wall of smaller ones, stood on this the original summit, where they had been overthrown, displaced, and covered over to the depth of ten feet with earth, which completed the height of the mound known only as the Castle-hill. Mr. Stuart says that it is probable that more of the large stones were sculptured; but two only, which are graven with the Caledonian hieroglyphics,

[1] See "Notices of the Plates," p. 33 of *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, by Mr. John Stuart.

were saved by a gentleman, while the others had previously been broken up for railway bridges. The person who rescued these memorials had his memory recalled by the figures on them to a stone with similar sculptures which he had formerly remarked, but which had afterwards disappeared, being covered by the accumulation of soil in the neighbouring churchyard, where it was searched for and found.

The remains on the original summit of this mound, its charred earth and sculptured stones, might well excuse the impression that this earliest portion of the monument was of great antiquity. But an examination of one of the sculptured stones justifies a belief that they must originally have been graven and re-engraven at a very remote, probably a prehistorical period; for on one side the figure of the elephant is nearly worn out of the granite, on which the emblem of the double disc and sceptre seems to have been executed at a later period. On the other side of the same stone the elephant and mirror are inverted. That the elephant on one side had not been defaced by man, but had become partly obliterated by the slow process of decay which time exerts on Aberdeenshire granite, is to be inferred from the fact that all the sculptures are of one class, and may be found associated in the Caledonian sculptures. But these are not the only changes to which this stone had been subjected before it was buried, with the fane to which it belonged, in the centre of the extended mound, instead of resting on the original and lower summit; for a portion of the stone had been carefully cut out, as if intended to form it into a seat, by which opera-

tion a part of the mirror and of the elephant's head was removed.

Circular areas defined by columnar stones have not unfrequently been accidentally discovered, like that at Kintore, where their existence was not suspected. It is a matter for consideration whether they were thus concealed to protect them from desecration by votaries of a new faith, or to prevent worship in them by adherents to heathenism or doubting converts to Christianity.[1]

On one of the sculptured granite stones at Logie there appear to have been earlier designs—viz., of the double disc and other figures of a type similar to those which are now distinct, and evidently have been graven at a later period over those which time had nearly obliterated. Yet the later sculpture is apparently prior to the use of Christian emblems.

Another group at Dinnacair, near Stonehaven, may possibly be considered as affording slight data from which it may be inferred that the sculptured stones at that place were overthrown at a period of remote antiquity. This group was brought to notice about thirty years ago by a few lads who contrived, by taking advantage of the crumbling rock and scanty vegetation in a crevice, to reach the summit. It is said they were tempted to this somewhat perilous adventure by dreams of treasure concealed there, possibly resulting from traditions of the former occupation of this unenviable and apparently inaccessible spot. Dinnacair, as seen from the high

[1] One was found deep beneath the soil in an old garden at Wardend, in the parish of Alvath.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xxxviii. p. 161. Another discovered in Jersey is elsewhere referred to.

ground contiguous, is a contracted green spot on the top of an isolated rock which has, in all probability, been connected with the land by means of one of those thin seams of harder stone which run through the less compact rocks of this precipitous coast. A narrow, high, precarious pathway would thus have been the means of communication with what now is, and for ages has been, an island. An example of what it was may be seen in a rock and connecting ledge immediately contiguous. The length of time that may probably have been required to render Dinnacair an island, and that has since elapsed, is a question which geologists only are capable of considering with any prospect of advantage; and the condition of rocks somewhat similar at no great distance from Dinnacair might assist in forming a conclusion. The lads who had scaled the rock of Dinnacair found the foundations of a thick wall overgrown with vegetation, and in removing part of it discovered several stones bearing the usual Caledonian hieroglyphics. These they threw over the cliff, and at low water, when its base was accessible, removed three of them to their parents' houses. Two of these are delineated in the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, and two other sculptured stones were in 1856 procured by Mr. Thomson of Banchory from the base of the rock of Dinnacair.

The emblems graven on these stones are of the simple and apparently most ancient type of the Caledonian symbols which are elsewhere separately referred to.[1] Found in such a situation, this group, even if there were no other evidence, is a

[1] In the chapter on "Sculptured Stones, etc."

convincing proof that the sculptured stones of Scotland were not boundary stones; and various circumstances point to the original establishment of these stones at Dinnacair at a period of remote antiquity. Judging from the facts apparent in places somewhat similar and contiguous, many ages must have witnessed the gradual decay of the rock and advance of the ocean before Dinnacair, detached from the adjacent cliff, became surrounded by the sea, and its summit inaccessible; but even before that had taken place it would appear, from the derivation of the Celtic name, that the place where probably had stood a heathen fane had been desecrated and transformed into a Celtic fortress, in the walls of which the sculptured stones were discovered. It is probable that this small stronghold gave the name by which the rock is now known; Dinnacair being a corruption of the Celtic words Dun-na-caer,[1] which exactly expresses such a position. Names of similar import are found in the immediate neighbourhood,[2] and in all Celtic countries of Western Europe.

Primitive monuments, unhewn and unsculptured, are found

[1] Dun, in Gaelic, a hill, a fort, a fastness; Na, genitive article; Caer, Cathair, in Gaelic, Breton, and Cornish; Caer, Welsh (Keir, in North Britain, is probably a corruption), signifies a wall, a fortress. The small forts or *keirs* are very numerous in Scotland. In one parish—viz., Kippen, in Stirlingshire—five rising grounds, surmounted by these ramparts, have the word *keir* prefixed to the name of the hill.

It has been suggested to me by a Gaelic scholar that Cathair, synonymous with Caer, is used for any famous place of worship. My information regarding the finding of the sculptured stones on Dinnacair was from one of the persons concerned; and so far as he could remember the sculptured stones were built into the thick wall, and lying flat, in the same manner as the other materials, and not in any way more conspicuous.

[2] As Dunnottar, originally Dunotyr; Keir-hill of Skeen, with its ancient loose stone walls in concentric circles; etc.

throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain, from Tescaw in the Scilly Isles to Stennis in the Orkneys. From Kent to Cornwall, Anglesea and Cumberland, from the Lothians to the Isles of Skye and Lewis, the remains of such monuments are to be seen, or their former existence may be ascertained from authentic records. Being so generally scattered, not only over Britain and its islands, but in Ireland, while the sculptured stones, with simple emblems, are only found in the richer and more level portions of the eastern side of North Britain, may be considered conclusive as to the greater antiquity of the rude megalithic fanes; yet the designs in these sculptures certainly existed before the introduction of Christianity, and cannot, with regard to any definite authority, be assigned to a later race than "the Caledonians and other Picts,"[1] the earliest inhabitants of North Britain mentioned in history.

As to the length of time the Caledonian sculptures may have endured under favourable circumstances there is no limit. We can only judge by the time that inscriptions have been preserved in other countries, and that inscriptions on Roman monuments have existed in Britain. The state of preservation in which they are found, and the material in which they are graven, must also be taken into consideration.

The sculptured emblem, which seems intended to represent a sword in the scabbard, shows that the weapon was pointless and without a guard; and we know from Polybius that such was the form—*i.e.* without a point—of the swords of

[1] "Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum."—Eumenii Panegyr. Constant. August. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lxix.

the Gauls who fought against the Romans in Italy in the third century B.C., as we know from Tacitus that the Celts who confronted Agricola on the Grampian mountain were armed with pointless swords. That this probably was a symbol early formed, and that it long continued to be graven in the same shape, may be inferred from its appearing along with the mirror and comb in a sculpture where the cross is the prominent object,[1] and which must therefore have been executed ages after the leaf-shaped or pointed sword had become the only weapon of that kind in use.

On the subject of the antiquity of the rude Cyclopean monuments, whether Celtic or of a prior race, an additional argument is supplied in a passage in Dr. Wilson's *Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*.[2] After describing the remarkable and extensive monolithic structure at Classernish, in the island of Lewis, with many of its stones nearly buried in the moss, he continues—"But perhaps the most interesting of all the temple groups of the Hebrides is one which furnishes indisputable evidence of remote antiquity." . . . "In the same island of Lewis a large stone circle may be seen, which, within the memory of the present generation, was so nearly buried in the moss that the surrounding heather and rushes sufficed to conceal the stones. It has now been cleared out to a depth of fifteen feet by the annual operation of the islanders in cutting peats for their winter fuel, and as yet without exposing the bases of any of the columns."[3] . . . . "But

[1] Spalding Club, folio, Plate XLIII.

[2] Pp. 115, 116.

[3] At Callernish, in 1856, by removing the remaining depth of from five

this is not a solitary example. On various parts of the mainland monolithic groups still remain partially entombed in the slowly-accumulating mosses, the growth of unnumbered centuries. On one of the wildest moors in the parish of Tongland, Kirkcudbrightshire, a similar example may be seen, consisting of a circle of eleven stones, with a twelfth of larger dimensions in the centre, the summits of the whole just appearing above the moss. Adjoining the group there stands a large cairn, with its base doubtless resting on the older soil beneath. With such evidence at command, it is manifest that, however vague many of the speculations may be which have aimed at the elucidation of rites and opinions of the Celtic Druids, and have too often substituted mere theory for true archæological induction, we shall run to an opposite error in ascribing to a Scandinavian origin structures manifestly in existence long prior to the earliest Norwegian or Danish, or even perhaps Celtic descent on our coasts."

Although several authors within the last quarter of a century have, with much decision, scouted the idea of the Druidical origin of the monuments at Stennis, and affirmed that they are erections of the Scandinavians, an examination of these remains, even after the discoveries in the chambered tumulus of Maeshow,[1] leads to an opposite conclusion; in so far at least

to eight feet of moss, the original level of the ground was reached, and a chambered tumulus discovered.—*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. iii. part i. pp. 110-112; also vol. ii. part iii. pp. 180-182; vol. iii. part ii. p. 212.

[1] This chambered tumulus was opened by James Farrar, Esq., M.P., in 1861, and the discovery of its numerous Runic inscriptions excited in all present intense curiosity to know the secrets they contained. These are given, and many valuable plates of

that, although they may not be Druidical, they are not Scandinavian,—that, on the contrary, the present name of the place, as stated by Professor Munch,[1] was that given by the first Scandinavian settlers, and is derived from the remarkable columnar stone circles which they found on the narrow promontory that divides the salt-water loch of Stennis from the fresh-water loch of Harray. "Stennis," says the Professor, "is the old Norn Steinsnes—that is, the promontory of stones;" and, it may be added, that the stones from which only the name could be derived have been brought and erected, but were not found, at the places where these monuments have been reared. Although these monuments not being Scandinavian does not of itself prove any great antiquity, yet it again throws back the period when the stones of Stennis were erected, like all other such remains, into prehistoric ages.

From a statement in the history of Cæsar's wars in Gaul may be inferred a date, not of the erection of any of these primitive monuments, but of the year when in all probability the most remarkable rude stone memorials existing in any Celtic country were overthrown or desecrated. Fify-one years before the Christian era Cæsar, when he finally conquered the Veneti of Armorica, put all their senate to death, and sold the whole of the higher classes into slavery. This following after the great slaughter which had taken place at the capture of their towns, and in their last disastrous naval action,[2] reduced

this monument, in the volume printed by Mr. Farrar for private circulation in 1862.

[1] Professor Munch's letter to Dr. Wilson is in the *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 112.

[2] In the chapter which treats of the influence of the Phœnicians on the

that state to insignificance and the country to desolation that has not yet passed away. On the promontory from which Cæsar witnessed the victory gained by the Romans over the fleet of the Veneti stood one of their towns; and even now, after upwards of nineteen hundred years have passed, the primitive monuments of a once powerful state stand prominent on the rugged peninsulas which were sites of ancient Celtic towns. There, and on the adjacent wastes, the Cyclopean remains exceed, both in general extent and in the size of individual monuments, all others remaining in Western Europe. Any one who reads the history of the Veneti, and compares the vestiges of ancient greatness with the present material condition of their country, will not doubt that its monuments must be the work of ages precedent to the conquest of Celtic Gaul by the Romans, and the devastation committed by them on the people and province of Venetia B.C. 51.

Venetia appears to have been by far the most influential of the maritime states of Gaul, and its history is of particular interest as regards the early Celtic antiquities of Britain. It would appear from Strabo that the external commerce of Britain was principally in the hands of the Veneti, who therefore wished to prevent the invasion of that island by the Romans. He gives this as a cause of the war excited against the Romans by the Veneti, which ended in the destruction of their fleet and the extinction of their power. This agrees with the statement of Cæsar, that in making prepara-

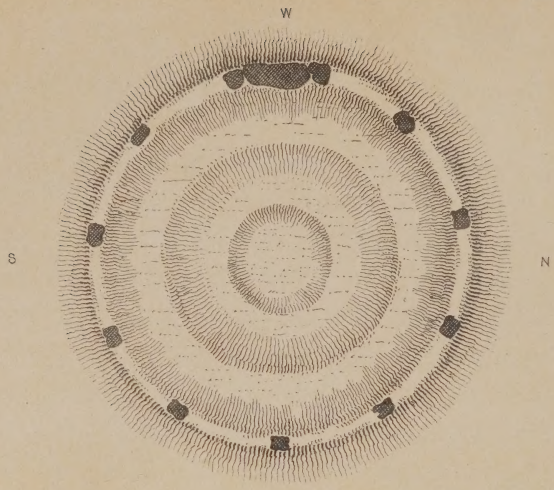
Britons the Veneti are referred to, more particularly as regards the superior numbers, size, and construction of their ships to those of the Romans.

tions to attack the Romans the Veneti sent to Britain for auxiliaries.

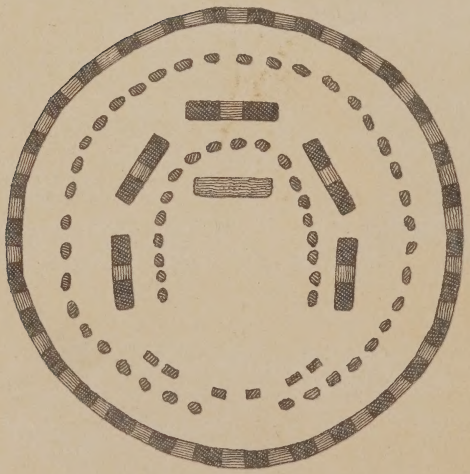
As a proof that the artificial mount of Silbury Hill existed before the formation of the Roman road, the Via Badonica, it appears that in 1777 a shaft was worked by Cornish miners, under the direction of the Duke of Northumberland and Colonel Drax, at the centre and from the summit to the base of Silbury Hill. In 1849, under the direction of the Archæological Institute, a gallery was cut from the side to the centre of this artificial mount, and thence in various directions along the base. From these examinations it was proved that this hill was not sepulchral; and also that the Roman road, Via Badonica, had not passed, as some persons had supposed, over the site of Silbury Hill, but had avoided this impediment, previously existing, to the direct line of that highway.[1]

[1] *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute*, Salisbury 1849, pp. 297-303.

Silbury is more particularly mentioned in the chapters treating of Avebury and the other "Great Circular Fanes of Britain;" also under the head of "Mod or Moot Hills."



Plan of Circle Sinkinny, Midmar, Aberdeenshire.



Original Plan of Stonehenge.

The Hurlers, St Clare, Cornwall.

CHAPTER IX.

CROMLECHS[1]—CIRCULAR COLUMNAR FANES.

Authorities for this application of the word Cromlech—Erected for Religious Ceremonies—Used as Courts of Justice—For the Assemblies of Elders or Senates—For the Inauguration of Rulers—Being found in Groups no proof of their being Sepulchral—Groups of Religious Buildings in many Countries—Instances of Stone Circles still commonly erected in Groups in Western India—Great number of Sepulchral Tumuli around the most remarkable Cromlechs—The only notice of the erection of any of these Primitive Fanes is in Sacred History—Stones marked with Caledonian Hieroglyphics, and Cromlechs found in connection with the Sites of early Christian Churches—Cromlechs used as Courts for the Administration of Justice—This practice continued in Mediæval and up to Modern times—Cromlechs, places used for the Assembling of Councils—Cromlechs of Britain—Carnac in Brittany—Avebury—Silbury Hill artificial but not sepuchral—Comparison of Avebury with Stonehenge—Stonehenge contains works of different ages—Stones of Stennis—Stanton Drew—Long Meg and her Daughters—Castle Rig of Keswick—The Roll-Rich Stones—Approaches to Cromlechs—Heppe—Kits Cotty-House—Lambourne—Classernish.

IN any inquiry regarding the primitive Cyclopean monuments the circular areas defined by separate unhewn columns or masses of stone claim the first consideration. By

[1] "On nomme Cromlec'h, en terme d'archéologie Celtique, une enceinte, soit circulaire, soit elliptique, formée par des Men-hirs plantés ou par des blocs de pierre plus ou moins volumineux simplement posés a nu sur le sol. Ce mot vient des deux mots Celtique Crom ou Croum, qui signifie courbure et Lec'h ou Lea'ch, pierre sacrée, litteralement, il veut donc dire *pierres*

the people of Brittany, and by Breton archæologists, areas so defined are called Cromlechs, and without doubt it would appear they are correctly so called from two words which, with little variety, are common to all the Celtic dialects[1]—viz. Crom, a circle, and Lech, which means either a place or a stone. By British antiquaries Cromlech has been generally employed to denote the dolmen or altar which is usually or invariably a component part, either contained in or immediately contiguous to the consecrated circular space. But any one who examines the various explanations by which it has been attempted to reconcile the meaning of the word Cromlech with the form of the monument which in England is known by that name, will be at no loss to discover that, however ingenious, the attempts have been unsuccessful. Some of the authorities in England derive it from a word signifying "a roof or vault;" others from "a suspended stone"—"a bowed stone"—"an inclining stone;"

sacrées en courbe, en circle."—Fremenville's *Monumens Anciens de la Bretagne-Finistere*, p. 60, Brest 1845.

"On appelle Cromlec'hs des cercles Druidiques formés des pierres plantées verticalement en terre."—Souvestre's *Derniers Brétons*, vol. i. p. 105.

From notices in Gibson's *Camden*, vol. ii. pp. 34, 35, it would appear that the word Cromlech or Gromlech was formerly used in Wales, as in Brittany, to denote circular columnar fanes, although it is commonly, but not authoritatively, used in the English language to express the Dolmens or table-stones—the Druid altars.

1 (Armorican) Creu, round—Cruin, circular—Crom and Croum, curved, circular—Croumm, a circle; (Gaelic) Crom, a circle—Crom-nan-clach, circle of stones; (Welsh) Crwmm, curvus—Crwnn, rotundus—Crwm, a circle.

In Armorican, Welsh, and Cornish, Lech is both "a flat stone" and "a place." In Gaelic, Clach or Cloch, a stone.—See Davies's "Edwd. Lhuyd," *Archæologia Britannica*, Oxford, 1707; Highland Society's *Gaelic Dictionary;* Fremenville's *Monumens Anciens Finistere*, p. 60; Souvestre's *Derniers Brétons*, vol. i. p. 105.

others make it the people who bowed, and not the stone, etc. The form of the monuments and the simple meaning of the Celtic words are sufficient proofs that the Bretons are correct in calling the circular columnar fanes cromlechs, and the altars taulmens or dolmens—*i.e.* "table-stones." By circular fanes I mean those areas which are commonly fenced round by rude monoliths, and appear to have been used as places of worship. They may easily be distinguished from circles of stones, somewhat similar, that have formerly surrounded sepulchral tumuli, and, equally with those that were consecrated to religion, are generally known as *Druid circles.*[1] As regards these places of worship this name is not inappropriate, for, by whatever people reared, there can be little doubt that in Britain they were occupied by the Druids prior to the introduction of Christianity; and it is certain that thereafter these temples were occasionally or generally used as places of worship for the early Christians. Before entering on a description of these fanes it is necessary to state the objects for which it would appear they were used; and afterwards to give the evidence on which that opinion is formed. An examination of such facts as we possess leads to the conclusion that cromlechs were erected as temples of religion—that they were used as courts of justice—for the inauguration of kings and rulers—and were also occupied by the assemblies of elders in those local or national senates which formed part of the organisation of a Celtic community.[2]

[1] Druid is used in Gaelic for circle.

[2] Many arguments might be used to prove that the Celts had such assemblies. The most direct is that of Cæsar, who put to death the whole senate of the Veneti; and the senate

The principal argument for considering these areas to have been designed as places of sepulture is, that human remains are generally found in and around these monuments, and even beneath the dolmens, which, notwithstanding that they sometimes cover funereal deposits, have to all appearance been erected as altars. If all dolmens and every circular fane could be shown to be places of sepulture—which cannot be done, as will appear in treating of the dolmens—that would in no way disprove the primary object of their erection being for religious purposes.[1] Even if we were to admit, without any authority for so doing, that the same race which reared the dolmens at the same period used them as places of sepulture, human remains in abundance may be found beneath the altars or pavements as well as surrounding our most ancient and noble Christian churches;[2] yet these were surely erected for the living not for the dead.

It is unnecessary to occupy space with multiplied proofs of what is generally known—viz., that most nations endeavour to deposit the remains of their dead within the precincts of, or contiguous to, consecrated places; in holy lands; or in sacred

of the Picts, mentioned in *Adamnani Vita St. Columbæ*, by Dr. Reeves, p. 152.

[1] Under the head of "Spirits worshipped by the Heathen Inhabitants of Britain" I have noticed the sacrifice of human victims to propitiate "the Spirit of the Earth." The remains of these victims were placed beneath any erection that was to cumber the soil; therefore bones found beneath or beside a *menhir* or the columns of a circular fane, particularly if without urn or kistvaen, are more likely to be those of a person sacrificed than of one intended to be honoured.

[2] Many an ancient ecclesiastical edifice of Britain was the burial-place of its founder. York Minster previous to 1736 was disfigured, its pavement encumbered, and worshippers obstructed, by an accumulation of monuments and gravestones.

streams ; nor are we likely to forget how, in this century, and in our own country, the accumulated dead had in many cases rendered dangerous the approach of the living to the temples of God.

Another argument adduced in support of the opinion that circular areas defined by rude columnar stones are sepulchral monuments is, that they are occasionally found in groups. From this circumstance an able and accomplished archæologist[1] has given a somewhat contemptuous notice of those persons who have called such enclosures "Druidical temples." Yet no other reasons are there given for repudiating this designation than the acknowledged facts that these places often contain funereal deposits, and occasionally are found in groups.

Objections to the inference derived from the discovery of human remains in such places have already been stated ; and the argument that "Druid circles" being found in groups is proof that they were *designed* for places of sepulture appears equally inconclusive, if not altogether untenable, for it is opposed to analogies derived from similar monuments in many countries and most religions ; and the plan and construction of the best specimens of such remains in Britain and Armorica, with their far-extending stone avenues of approach and Cyclopean altars, negative the opinion that these enclosures were primarily, far less exclusively, designed for sepulchral monuments. In Palestine the Jews, to use the expressive language of the prophet, had so multiplied their places for heathen sacrifice that they were common "as heaps in the furrows of the

[1] Quoted in Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 117.

fields."[1] In Hindostan, Ayodhya and Gya, in the early days of Hindus and Buddhists, were cities of religious buildings and monuments. The wonderful rock-cut temples of Karli, Ellora, Kenneri, Adjunta, and many other places of Western India, and those of Dambool, Alue-Wihare, etc., in Ceylon, are in groups.[2] So are the minutely-sculptured marble temples of a later age on Mount Aboo. In Java, in Thibet, in Egypt, and Assyria—in short in all countries that had a religion and a priesthood—religious edifices may be found in groups. The Jews were forbidden to have any except the one temple, but there is ample proof in the Bible, beside the expression above quoted, that they had numerous places for heathen sacrifice; and it appears from recent travellers that in Palestine groups of Cyclopean remains are to be found similar to those in the Celtic countries of Western Europe. Surely no one who has examined the great temple of Avebury will call it a sepulchral monument—with its miles of stone avenues of approach, its high rampart and deep fosse, surrounding a circle of huge monoliths which enclose upwards of twenty-eight acres of land[3] and several inferior circles, besides those which terminated at least one of the avenues, and others that were external—and the artificial mount of Silbury,

[1] King, in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. i. pp. 204, 205, says that numerous quotations from Scripture leave no doubt that the *high-places* in which Jews and Philistines sacrificed were not confined to mountainous places, but that they were artificial fanes, liable to be overthrown and broken, and that pillars were part of their formation.

[2] Some of these groups of sacred places contain more than ten times the number of Druid circles to be found in any one locality.

[3] From measurements made in 1812. —Higgins's *Celtic Druids*, pp. 23, 24.

which is proved not to have been a tomb, but a portion of the fane. Yet these are a group of circular areas defined by detached masses of stone; and if it cannot be directly proved, it is certainly, from circumstantial evidence, to be deduced that the Druids were the occupants of such fanes in Celtic countries.

We know that the Britons and Caledonians worshipped many gods.[1] It is therefore natural to presume that in places of peculiar sanctity temples would be erected to those most reverenced or most dreaded. Moreover, it would only be in accordance with the practice of other nations if the separate tribes of Caledonia reposed their chief confidence in different members of the same Pantheon; and therefore at the great places of assembly we might expect to find temples for the worship of various gods. Although sepulchral tumuli were sometimes surrounded by circles of stones, the cases in which the cairn or mound was removed and the columnar stones were left must have been rare. For if the tumuli were cairns, and the stones were coveted, would the most valuable—viz., those forming the circles—have been left? If the tumuli were removed in consequence of advancing cultivation, why leave the stone circles, which would still prevent tillage? If the answer should be that "superstition protected the circle," then arises the question, How could superstition protect the belt from those who did not fear to destroy the body?

[1] Besides the superior deities mentioned by Cæsar, local British deities are alluded to in Roman inscriptions. —See Stewart's *Caledonia Romana*, p. 309; Wright's *Ancient Inhabitants of Britain*, pp. 272-276, etc.; Wilson's *Archæology*, p. 399.

More conclusive against the decision of those who scout the idea that *groups* of "Druid circles" could have been raised for religious purposes, is the fact that several stone circles, close together, even intersecting each other,[1] and lately erected to the same object of worship—viz., to Vital[2]—may any day be seen in secluded rocky places near towns and villages of the Dekhan in India. Near Poonah they are extremely common, and there these primitive fanes first attracted the notice of Dr. Stephenson and Dr. John Wilson.

"Epiphanius, who was born and lived in Syria, described an open circle as a place of prayer formed by the ancient Samaritans;"[3] and there appears good reason for believing that not only the greater, but all sizes of circular areas defined by monoliths, and containing either dolmens or central menhirs, were temples. The form of the dolmen[4] in simple fanes is a tabular mass of stone of superior size to any other in the circle of which it forms a portion. This stone rests on the

[1] In the Botallick circles in Cornwall, and near Harlech in Wales, are circles intersecting each other.

[2] Vital is a favourite and very general object of worship in many parts of Western India by the rural and agricultural population. A coincidence, in name at least, appears in the following quotation from Mommsen's *History of Rome*:—"One of the most ancient myths regarding the Italian race attributes to King Italus (or as the Italians must have pronounced the word, Vitalus or Vitulus) the introduction of agriculture." I remark the coincidence of the name of this ante-Brahmanical god of Indian cultivators, because Vital has not been so much noticed as other objects of worship less generally venerated, probably because of his being ignored or denounced by the Brahmans. The same author, in the same chapter, in treating of "The Earliest Inhabitants of Italy," refers to names of other gods common to the races that worshipped on the banks of the Ganges, and on the banks of the Ilissus and Tiber.—Theodore Mommsen's *History of Rome*, translated by Robertson, pp. 14, 18.

[3] Kitto's *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 410.

[4] The more important forms of dolmens are treated of separately.

Botallick Circles, Cornwall.

Circle of Standing Stones.

ground, and its upper side is either horizontal or with a gentle slope, which, although general, may be accidental. Two rude columns, selected as the highest in the range, and of a tapering form, rise one at each end of the horizontal stone, and may well be described as the horns of the altar.[1]

Towards the end of the sixth century St. Augustine obtained from King Ethelbert a heathen temple in which the king had formerly worshipped, of which the saint made a burying-place.[2] In this we have a proof, not only of the transformation into a Christian cemetery of a heathen temple, an assurance that the temple was not a house, but an area of determined limits. There may be found rare instances in which the stones set round a sepulchral cairn had, by the removal of the smaller stones that formed the central heap, assumed the general appearance, but without many of the characteristics, of a circular fane.[3]

As the Druids, the oldest priesthood in Britain in the historical period, inculcated the immortality of the soul, it is natural to presume that they would have their funeral rites performed and their ashes deposited in the places of their ministration. Then, as has happened in later times in Christian churches, the worthy or the wealthy may have shared the posthumous honour of sepulture within the circle, while

[1] In Aberdeenshire there are remains of many, and even now not a few well-preserved circles of this description—as at Sinhinny, Midmar, Crimond, Tyrebagger, Keig, Daviot, Deer, etc.

[2] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by Sir Henry Ellis, vol. ii. p. 179; Strutt's *Manners and Customs, English Era*, vol. i. p. 69.

[3] Such circles—viz. those that have once surrounded cairns—are not common; for whoever removed the cairn was not likely to leave the stones of the outer circle.

others were content to have their monumental barrow or cairn raised within view of some fane of remarkable sanctity. Around Avebury, Stonehenge, and other circular temples, we can judge from remains, and learn from records, how extremely numerous were the tumuli. Every elevation within the very extensive circuit which the eye could reach from these centres of worship was studded with the cairns and barrows of the worshippers, who we may imagine hoped, from the sacred nature of the locality, to obtain a favourable metempsychosis.

A late and careful writer,[1] in exploring the summits of Mount Hermon, believes that the foundations of a stone wall there enclosing a circular space, 180 feet in diameter, mark one of the "high-places" where the worship of Baal was particularly celebrated, and once contained an altar whence ascended the flames of sacred fires in his honour.

The earliest notice in history of unhewn columns forming part of an establishment dedicated to religious ceremonies is that of Mount Sinai, where Moses "builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars according to the twelve tribes of Israel."[2] There he caused burnt-offerings to be offered, and peace-offerings to be sacrificed, and he himself sprinkled the blood on the altar and on the people. It has already been intimated that the altars were to be formed of unhewn stones, and were not to be ascended by steps.[3]

[1] Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*, pp. 293-295.

See also *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*, where the same facts are repeated, and St. Jerome is mentioned as testifying to the fact that a temple of Baal existed on Mount Hermon, vol. ii. pp. 14, 15.

[2] Exod. xxiv. 4.

[3] Exod. xx. 25, 26; Josh. viii. 31. This shows that there were steps to the altars of the Canaanites.

Circle at Ardlair, Clatt.

Keith & Gibb Lith.rs Aberdeen.

By Colonel Forbes Leslie, Leith

The next record of such a monument is that of Gilgal, where Joshua first encamped after crossing the Jordan. There he caused twelve stones to be "pitched," the number of the stones being "according to the number of the tribes."[1] These stones were also unhewn, having been taken from the channel of the river, as must have been those of the altar which Joshua reared at the same place, and on which he offered sacrifice.[2]

In these, the earliest notices of rude stones employed for the erection of altars and to define places destined for religious ceremonies, we have four facts distinctly announced—*First*, That the stones were to be of their natural form, not in any way shaped by man. *Second*, That columnar stones ("pillars") were associated with the altar. *Third*, That these pillars set up were in number according to the number of tribes who were to be partakers in the intended sacrifice; and *Fourth*, That the altar was to be without steps. Another circumstance may, with much probability, be inferred from the meaning attributed to the word Gilgal by Hebrew scholars,[3] as well as from the description of those places of sacrifice in the Bible and the historian Josephus—viz. that the consecrated area was circular.

Under other heads reference is made to the monument of Gilgal, and here it is sufficient to notice that it was consecrated to divine worship[4]—that the twelve stones were reared

[1] Josh. iv. 5.

[2] Josh. viii. 31; Whiston's *Josephus*, vol. i. p. 223.

[3] Gilgal in the marginal notes is translated "rolling;" in Cruden's *Concordance*, "wheel," "revolution;" in Kitto's *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 408, "a circle," "a round," "a wheel."

[4] 1 Sam. x. 8; xi. 15; xiii. 8, 9.

as a memorial[1]—that there justice was administered[2]—and that it was at Gilgal that the people assembled and made Saul king before the Lord.[3] It may thus be seen that this place was used for devotional, judicial, and inaugural purposes; besides being originally distinguished, when it acquired that name, by stones of memorial. At a later period Gilgal, so long reverenced and consecrated to the worship of the true God, became notorious as a place for the heathen sacrifices and other pagan abominations of the apostate Jews.[4]

Notwithstanding the early period to which we are carried back by the history of these defined areas and rude stone altars erected at Sinai and Gilgal, it is very possible that the circular temple of Baal, lately discovered by Mr. Porter on the eastern summit of Mount Hermon, may have been erected long before the period of the exodus.

In a separate article are noticed the various countries in which circular areas defined by pillars, and various other Cyclopean remains, have been discovered—extending from Central Asia through Northern Africa to Gaul and Britain. In now treating of these circles as places of worship it is only necessary, as regards other countries, to remark that this *was* the purpose to which such places were dedicated in Syria and Palestine; and that in India they are still formed, as well as occupied, for the practice of religious rites. In Britain there is sufficient proof that these areas were places of worship to the heathen, and afterwards to the early Christian inhabitants

[1] Josh. iv. 7.
[2] 1 Sam. vii. 16.
[3] 1 Sam. xi. 15.
[4] Hosea iv. 15; ix. 15; xii. 11.

of our country. This opinion will now be supported by a few out of many facts and corroborative circumstances that might be adduced.

That the areas or immediate vicinity of the circular fanes were selected by the first Christian missionaries and teachers as their places of worship, might be inferred, even without the direct testimony which will be afterwards quoted, from the remains that still exist, and other portions that have been removed in modern times from the consecrated precincts of early Christian churches. In illustration of this assertion, it is not necessary to extend the examples beyond the limits of the county of Aberdeen. It is a part of Scotland in which primitive monuments are abundant; and its antiquities have been collected and described with great ability and research by Mr. Joseph Robertson.[1]

With these records, and the valuable notices of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* by Mr. John Stuart, it is considered unnecessary farther to extend inquiries or multiply examples of heathen fanes and sculptured stones in connection with Christian churches. In the parish of Culsalmond several of the most remarkable sculptured stones of Scotland have been discovered,[2] one of them bearing, in an unique form of character, an alphabetical inscription. In the churchyard of this parish stood a circular fane of unhewn stones; one also existed in the end of the seventeenth century near the church of Keig.[3]

[1] Four volumes are already published by the Spalding Club, and a fifth is forthcoming.

[2] More particularly described under the head of "Inscriptions."

[3] Letter of Dr. Garden to John Aubrey, 15th June 1692.

Another stood in the churchyard of the parish of Daviot, and near it was found a stone with Caledonian hieroglyphics.[1] In the churchyard of Kinellar once stood a circular fane and a stone on which is graven the crescent emblem. It was discovered in the foundation of the old church of that parish. In the foundation of the old church of Tyrie, in or near the churchyard walls of Dyce, Inverury, Kintore, and the ancient abbey of Deer were found stones sculptured with hieroglyphics. In the parish of Deer there were many circular fanes, the most entire of which is described in the last century as "having the altar-stone placed as usual on the south side, and lying east and west. It is fourteen and a half feet long, five and a half broad, and four and a half deep. The gross weight would exceed twenty-one tons." In some of these, as in many other cases, the connection of the sculptured stones with the circular fanes and other primitive monuments is conspicuous; and the examples are too numerous to warrant any doubt of their contiguity being intentional.

The next argument in proof that the circular areas were anciently occupied, if not originally formed, as places of worship, is derived from the names of places and expressions, both in the Celtic and in the Anglo-Saxon languages. For the purpose of making more intelligible the following remarks it is necessary to premise that in the Gaelic language Clach signifies a stone, and Clachan, stones, a church[2]—as Clachan-Michel,

[1] On a rising ground near the church of Daviot are the remains of a cromlech, in the circumference of which lies the stone presumed to have been for sacrifice. At this place there were formerly other primitive monuments, of which only a few monoliths now remain.

[2] Shaw's *History of Moray*, p. 230.

In the Church-yard, Midmar, Aberdeenshire.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Del.

Keith & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen.

Michael's church; Clachan-Muire, Mary's church. It also signifies a village, a circle of stones, a churchyard, a monument.[1] As a kirk-town or parish village clachan has been adopted into the modern or mediæval Scottish dialect.[2]

In many parts of Scotland in which the Gaelic language was spoken—from the Highlands of Perthshire to the island of Harris—the Gaelic expression signifying "the stones," was used as synonymous with "the church," and the Highlanders there more frequently say "Will you go to the stones?" or "Have you been at the stones?" than "Will you go to the church?" or "Have you been at the church?"[3] Glenorchy was formerly called "Clachan Dysart," and the place where the parish church now stands was probably the

[1] Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary*, and *Highland Society's Dictionary*.

[2] Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.

[3] See *Statistical Account of Scotland*, parishes of Callander, Perthshire; Aberfoyle, Perthshire; island of Harris, vol. xi. p. 581; vol. x. p. 129; vol. x. p. 374. "The Clachan or Kirkton of Rasay."—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, island of Rasay, parish of Portree, Inverness-shire, vol. xvi. p. 159.

The same term for going to worship seems also to be used in Ireland, for the Rev. R. H. Ryland, in speaking of a Druid's altar in the county of Waterford, says we have indisputable evidence that those who introduced Christianity into this country endeavoured to engraft the pure religion upon the heathen superstition which preceded it; and he adds, 'The Irish expression for going to worship literally signifies going to a stone.'—Ryland's *History of County Waterford*, p. 263, London, 1824.

The site of the ancient church of Kilcholm-Kill in North Uist is at a place called Clachan.—*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 376.

At *Clachan* the clergyman in the last century was in the practice of officiating every third Sunday.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xiii. p. 314.

In the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, Campsie, Stirlingshire, vol. xv. p. 315—"Of course the clachan is the place of worship."

There is a village, with vestiges of a church, called St. John's Clachan, in the parish of Dalry in Kirkcudbrightshire.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xiii. p. 58.

"Clachan, or Circle of Stones,"[1] which was succeeded by the Christian hermitage of some Scottish recluse.[2] In the parish of Coull in Aberdeenshire there is a circular fane on the summit of a mount called Tamnaverie, or the Hill of Worship. In the parish of Ellon in Aberdeenshire a place, from its position to one of these monuments, is called "Below the Chapel." At Aberlour in Banffshire one of these circular fanes is called Leachel-Beanich—*i.e.* "the Blessed Chapel."[3] These two last examples are mentioned in a letter by Dr. Garden to Aubrey[4] nearly two hundred years ago. In the same communication he mentions that there had been groves near all these fanes; and that in consequence of the superstitious veneration in which these monuments were held by the people they would not employ the stones to any other purpose. Unfortunately when superstition abated the veneration for these objects of antiquity ceased, and, whilst few remain unmutilated, great numbers have been entirely destroyed.

The same argument regarding the religious purpose of these circles that has been maintained from Gaelic expressions holds good in regard to the names of places in the common Scottish dialect and of English names in South Britain. In the parish of Tough in Aberdeenshire the largest of several circular fanes is called "The Auld Kirk of Tough." It is surrounded with tumuli, in accordance with similar remains round Avebury and Stonehenge, etc. In the same parish another

[1] *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Glenorchy, Argyleshire, vol. viii. pp. 33, 35, 36.

[2] Disert or Diseart, in Irish Celtic, is a hermitage. Such existed also in Iona.—Reeves's *Adamnani Vita St. Columbæ*, p. 366.

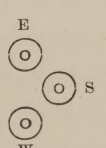
[3] The Blessed Stones (?)

[4] Quoted in Gibson's *Camden's Britannia*, vol. ii. p 298.

fane is not only surrounded by tumuli in great numbers, but remains of walls and causeways, running from the principal circle to others of smaller dimensions, may still be traced. In the parish of Alford in Aberdeenshire a circular fane is known by the name of "The Auld Kirk." In the parish of Auchterless in Aberdeenshire is a remarkable monument, consisting of three adjacent circles of white stones.[1] The hill of Logie Newton, on which it is situated, is called "the Kirk Hill."[2] A cromlech on the Toft Hill, in the parish of Clatt, was called "The Sunken Kirk."

Thus far from reasoning on facts philological and material, and evidence presumptive or circumstantial; but more direct testimony will now be quoted to prove that the circular fanes were primarily places of worship. From the instructions sent

[1] These stones are remarkable from their being white, of large size, entirely different from the stones found in the adjacent quarries, and also from being placed in a singularly commanding position, looking down on the Roman camp on the Ythan, and contiguous to the remains of a circular entrenchment, which, although now completely obliterated by the advance of cultivation, was distinct in the earlier part of the present century. The three stone circles are also much dilapidated and their areas contracted. They are placed in the form of a triangle—the two most remote from each other having their centres in a line running E. and W., while the one in the middle is advanced to the S. a distance equal to the diameter of the circles. The circles were about 30 feet in diameter, and those on the E. and W. about the same distance from the one on the S.



The largest stone, the most prominent feature in these circles, occupied the most eastern point of the eastern circle.

The ramparts of the Roman camp mentioned in this note, in nearly their whole extent, were distinct at the commencement of the present century, but are now nearly obliterated.

[2] Near St. Donat's in Glamorganshire a dolmen, called there a cromlech, goes by the name of "the Old Church."

to St. Augustine by Pope Gregory in A.D. 601 we learn that what had hitherto been practised from necessity was thereafter to be permitted, was in reality enjoined as a matter of policy. That able and astute pontiff directed that the pagan temples of Britain should not be destroyed, but only the idols that were contained in them; that the temples were to be purified by the sprinkling of holy water, and thereafter be converted to the worship of the true God; "that the nation," says the pontiff, "seeing that their temples were not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts, and, knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed."[1]

That there were altars for sacrifice in these fanes appears from Pope Gregory's letter, in which he directs that in place of the sacrifices of oxen that had hitherto been offered to devils in these temples,[2] the people on great festivals—such as "the day of the dedication, or nativities of the holy martyrs whose relics were placed in the temple—might celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting." For this purpose they were to be allowed "to build themselves huts with boughs of trees about these churches which have been turned to that use from temples, and to kill cattle to the praise of God, and return thanks to the giver of all things for their sustenance."

[1] Bede, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 141.

[2] On the 5th September 1656 the presbytery of Dingwall in Ross-shire denounced the abominable and heathenish practice of sacrificing bulls, which the people were wont to do; as also pouring out milk upon hills as oblations; divinations; adoring wells, monuments, and stones. See a most valuable paper by A. Mitchell, M.D., in vol. iv. p. 251, of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

For," it is added, "there is no doubt that it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds."[1] It may be presumed that this permission to encamp round the lately transformed churches, and to sacrifice there, indicates the manner in which the people had previously been accustomed to assemble and sojourn for a season round their fanes.

The chief heathen priest Coifi, on his conversion to Christianity, caused a heathen temple and its enclosures to be destroyed by fire.[2] From this, and from the permission granted by the Pope for the people to make huts around the temples, we may know, what otherwise could only have been inferred—viz., that these heathen fanes had buildings of more perishable materials than the columnar groups of stones which are all that now remain on their sites.

It appears from Bede that this sanctuary of idols at Godmundingham, although surrounded *by an enclosure and containing altars*, was open above, for it was profaned by the casting of a spear into it by Coifi. I am not aware that there is any authority for believing that any new form of fanes or objects of worship were imposed by the Anglo-Saxons on the Britons. Columnar stone circles and dolmens, as they were used for religious, judicial, and civil rites by Anglo-Saxons and Danes, as well as by Celts, would have been adopted, not destroyed, by these intruders from the Baltic. To use the words of Wilson[3]—"Diverse as were the Celtic and Scandi-

[1] Bede, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 141.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 165.
[3] Dr. Wilson's *Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, pp. 111, 112.

navian creeds, their temples were probably of similar character; and the rude Norsemen who possessed themselves of the Orkney Islands in the ninth century found far less difficulty in adapting the temple of Stennis to the shrine of Thor than the Protestants of the sixteenth century had to contend with when they appropriated the old cathedral of St. Magnus to the rites of Presbyterian worship." There certainly are no remains, excepting sculptures, in Britain that can with probability be considered as pertaining to heathen worship except monolithic circles, dolmens, and menhirs; and the great number of these existing in Caledonia and in Ireland, where their erection can be referred neither to Romans nor to Saxons, is a strong argument in favour of their Celtic origin, although it is possible that a prior race may have been the architects of these enduring monuments.

It is recorded by Bede[1] that Redwald, king of the East Saxons in the commencement of the seventh century, having been received into the Christian faith, afterwards relapsed; and in the same temple he had an altar on which to sacrifice to Christ, and another small one where he offered victims to devils. This temple had been seen by Aldwolf, who was a contemporary of the venerable historian. From that account we find that these fanes were provided with altars—that a plurality of altars for sacrificing to different objects of worship within the same temple was not unknown to our pagan ancestors, and that the heathen fane became the place of worship to the Christian convert.[2]

[1] Bede, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 167.

[2] History, disencumbered of interested perversions, shows that even the religion of Constantine was but

As Christianity superseded paganism, and adopted the ancient places of worship, the materials of the heathen fane, when not too ponderous and unmanageable, would, on the first erection or later restoration of the Christian church, be absorbed, buried in the foundation, or broken up to build the walls of the sacred edifice. This easily accounts for the demolition of many fanes, and the fragments of others being discovered in the neighbourhood of churches or in the ruins of ecclesiastical buildings of the earliest periods.[1] From the foundations of these in process of time may yet be recovered more sculptured stones, and additional light be thrown on the very obscure subject of Caledonian hieroglyphics, by whom they were executed, and whence they were derived.

Reference has been made to Gilgal as a place where unhewn stones of memorial were reared, and where an altar for sacrifice was formed of the same rude materials. There also justice was

a halting Christianity. This emperor, although revered by the Western and canonised by the Eastern Church as a saint "equal to the apostles," retained a claim on his original patron deity, the Sun-god. On the coins of Constantine the letters of the name of Christ occupy one side; the figure of Apollo, with the motto "sol invictus," is on the other.—See Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 193.

To show that the edicts of the Roman emperors did not put an end to the Druidical religion even in Gaul, I quote Selden's remarks—"Under Augustus and Tiberius the Druids were prohibited Rome, and Claudius endeavoured it in Gaul; yet in the succeeding emperors' times there were of them left, as appears in Lampridius and Vopiscus mentioning them in their lives; and long since that Procopius, writing under Justinian, about 500 years after Christ, affirms that then the Gauls used sacrifices of human flesh, which was a part of Druidian doctrine."—Selden's *Notes to Polyolbion*, p. 154.

[1] Two of the most remarkable of the sculptured stones have been discovered in the foundations of old churches—viz. at Tyrie and Kinellar.

administered ; for from year to year Samuel went to Gilgal on circuit and judged Israel.[1]

At Bethel the first pillar of memorial mentioned in history was set up,[2] and one of the earliest altars was erected.[3] It was also one of the places to which Samuel went on circuit and judged Israel. Mispeh, although less frequently mentioned than Gilgal or Bethel, seems also to have been approved for religious, judicial, and civil purposes, and like them was afterwards turned by the Jews to the purposes of false worship and heathen sacrifices.[4]

To Homer, in his description of the shield of Achilles, we can refer for the elders, when discussing a judicial case, being seated on or at rough-hewn stones within a sacred circle,[5] and it would appear that the council summoned by Alcinous were similarly placed.[6]

Chardin, when travelling in Persia, observed circles formed of great stones which must have been brought from a distance. The tradition of the natives was, that these circles were places where councils assembled, each member of which seated himself on one of the stones.

In comparatively modern times the following instances are furnished by Scottish records of circular fanes being then in use as places for the administration of justice. On a rising ground called the Candle-hill, situated in the parish of Rayne

[1] 1 Sam. vii. 16.
[2] Gen. xxviii. 18, 19.
[3] Gen. xxxv. 7.
[4] 1 Sam. vii. 6 ; 1 Kings xii. 33 ; 2 Kings xxiii. 15 ; Amos iii. 14. It seems probable that at Bethel there was also a sacred college (2 Kings ii. 35).
[5] *Iliad*, b. xviii.
[6] *Odyssey*, b. viii.

in Aberdeenshire, there are still considerable remains of a circular fane. Here "apud stantes lapides de Rane," at the standing-stones, on Saturday, the 2d May, A.D. 1349, in presence of William, Earl of Ross, the King's justiciar north of the Forth, William of Deyn, Bishop of Aberdeen, held a court, to which William of St. Michael was summoned for illegally maintaining possession of church lands.[1]

Another instance of a circular fane being used as a court of justice is found in the Chartulary of Moray. There it appears that the Bishop of Moray in the year 1380 was summoned to attend the court of Alexander, lord of the regality of Badenoch, to be holden "apud le standand stanys de la Rath de Kyngucy-estir" (at the Standing Stones of the Rath[2] of Kyngucy-Estir). The Bishop, who was summoned as a vassal, and protested against the proceedings, is described as standing "extra circum."[3] The judge who thus held his court at the Rath of Kingusy-Easter was that prince, son of King Robert II., who, by the commission of the most heinous crimes, and from his extraordinary ferocity, earned general execration and the appropriate name of "the Wolf of Badenoch." Although he sacked and plundered towns in his own country, burnt churches, and gave the cathedral of Elgin to the flames, after polluting its altars with blood, yet soon afterwards we find that his monument was reared in the middle of the choir of the cathedral of Dunkeld; and there for ages the

[1] *Regist. Epis. Aberdon.*

[2] Rath, a circular mound.

[3] *Regist. Epis. Morav.* p. 184; Wilson's *Archæology of Scotland*, p. 113.

stately marble bore the lying record that this savage was of "blessed memory."

The Druidical system of worship immediately preceded Christianity in North Britain, and the Druids were not only priests of the mysteries and sacrifices of that religion, but were judges in all cases civil and criminal.[1] We might therefore reasonably have presumed that the circular fane, or its contiguous mound, the Mod, Mot, or Moat,[2] would be employed for the administration of justice. The cases just quoted, with many others that might be brought forward, show that holding courts in such places was common in the fourteenth century; and in the more remote districts of Scotland, and the adjacent islands, the practice lingered until a much later period.

When the Celtic councils deliberated on affairs of great importance human sacrifices were offered, and from the contortions of the victims the Druids augured of the failure or success of proposed undertakings.[3] As no sacrifice could take place unless in presence of the Druids,[4] and sacrifice was practised when they deliberated on all momentous questions, it must be inferred that the circular fanes, as the places of sacrifice, were also the places where the senates or councils of the Keltai assembled, and except in such assemblies it was not lawful to discuss any public affairs.[5] Such monuments in Persia were pointed out as places where councils had as-

[1] See chapter on "Heathen Religion—Druids," etc.

[2] Described in a separate section of "Mod or Moat."

[3] Diodorus Siculus, b. v., and *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 104.

[4] Diodorus Siculus, b. v. c. ii.

[5] Cæsar, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 34.

sembled, and Homer alludes in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to circles of stones where persons were seated for judgment or council.

It is evident to all that the megalithic temples and monuments of primitive ages have defied time, and it is equally clear that in all countries their *origin* and, except in Palestine, their erection preceded history. Although ignored by architecture, they are not only interesting as objects of mysterious antiquity, but in some cases are impressive from their situation, and imposing from the number and magnitude of the rude columns or masses of rock that define the areas, or the huge dolmens which are amongst the distinguishing characteristics of Celtic-Cyclopean remains. Had the temple of Avebury been spared to us in its entirety Britain would have possessed in it one of the greatest wonders of early human art and combined exertion.

Reasons have already been given for believing that as early as the fourth century B.C. the fame of the temple of Avebury had extended to the eastern extremity of Europe, and was recorded by Hecatæus of Abdera. From existing remains, aided by descriptions, one of them (a manuscript) written two hundred years ago, it may with confidence be said that in unity of design this primitive fane surpassed all others that have yet been discovered. It was also beyond comparison the greatest in point of extent, in the amount of labour expended, and in the size of the monoliths of which it was constructed, of any circular primitive temple as yet noticed in Asia, Africa, or Europe. This observation is purposely limited to the design and form of Avebury; for the remains

of the stone avenues of Carnac in the Morbihan, which was the country of the Celtic Veneti, far exceed any other primitive monuments in the number of rude columns and the great extent of country over which they can be traced. Twelve hundred rough columnar stones, varying in height from five to twenty feet, still remain on the plain of Carnac : fifty years ago four thousand were reckoned ;[1] and the number of monoliths, when the whole was complete, has been variously estimated at from twelve to twenty thousand. They are arranged in eleven lines, thus forming ten avenues between the columns, the average distance between the lines being thirteen or fourteen paces, and between the stones in the lines six or seven paces. Now, these avenues only occur in detached groups, in a rugged and undulating country, which may account, if ever they were continuous, for their lines not having been quite straight. The size of the monoliths, and the extent of the monuments of various kinds on the heights, plains, and promontories that lie between the estuary of Intel and the Morbihan sea are beyond comparison greater than the remains in any other Celtic district—not only as the most extensive, but also as comprising the finest examples of the menhir, the dolmen, the galgal, the barrow, and other varieties, excepting

[1] In the *Monumens Celtique* of Cambray four thousand stones, the highest being 22 feet above ground, 12 feet wide, and 6 thick, are noticed at Carnac.—Cambray's *Monumens Celtique*, p. 172.

If the groups at Carnac never were connected, it is unaccountable how, for several miles, they should consist of eleven lines, forming ten avenues, and the same direction should be so nearly preserved ; for the groups at Carnac do not diverge farther from a straight line than the two stone avenues of approach to Avebury.

On the Plain at Carnac, Brittany.

Pr. Colonel Forbes Leslie, Delt.

Keith & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen.

only the circular fanes, the Celtic cromlech. The fane of Avebury, or those portions of it which could be traced when first carefully examined in the seventeenth century, may best be described by commencing at the great circle, the exterior limit of which is an immense earthen mound or rampart. Near the middle of the inner declivity of this rampart is a ledge, and then the slope continues until it becomes the side of a deep fosse that passes immediately within the mound, encircling a space of rich and level ground twenty-eight acres in extent. On the verge of the interior area within the fosse were arranged, at equal distances, a hundred massive stones, and appearances, not sufficiently conclusive however, render it probable that immediately within these was another and similar range of monoliths. It may here be remarked that the fosse being within the rampart, and its ledge far from the summit, prove that this great inclosure was not intended as a place of defence. The stones on the inner edge of the fosse stood at an average distance of 27 feet from each other, and were in height from 14 to 17 feet. The diameter of the circular area within the fosse is about 1300 feet.

On each side of the centre of this space stood double concentric circles formed of the same huge columnar masses as marked the outer circumference. In each of these two inner fanes the exterior circle, about 270 feet in diameter, contained thirty, and the interior, 166 feet in diameter, consisted of twelve stones, all placed about the same distance from each other as in the great circle.[1] In the centre of the circles that

[1] According to the careful plans in Higgins's *Celtic Druids*, one of these interior temples is larger than what I have stated. In these plans, from

are towards the south-east stood a stone of greater height than the surrounding monoliths, being upwards of 20 feet in height. In the centre of the circles which lie towards the north-west were three stones, each about 20 feet in height. The one in the middle faced nearly north-east, and was flanked by the other two, which projected forward so as to enclose a space in front of the centre stone, and the recess thus formed was occupied by a tabular stone placed level with the surface of the ground. This group seems to have faced in the same direction as the principal group of trilithons at Stonehenge, of which a writer who visited that monument in 1795[1] says, that standing in front of the central trilithon at Stonehenge, and looking towards the great stone, which stands at a distance of 210 feet, outside and entirely detached from the circle, it will be found that the top of that stone corresponds with a hill over which the sun appears to rise on the longest day of the year.

At Avebury the great temple and its inner sanctuaries were reached by two avenues that swept in gently-curved lines towards the south-east and south-west. The average breadth of these approaches, which were defined by great stones, was 45 feet. The avenue to the south-east, upwards of a mile in length, terminated in a double oval,[2] and had two hundred and fifty-eight monoliths. The other avenue, rather longer but less complete, appeared to terminate in a single stone.[3] Near the middle of this approach, in the line of the

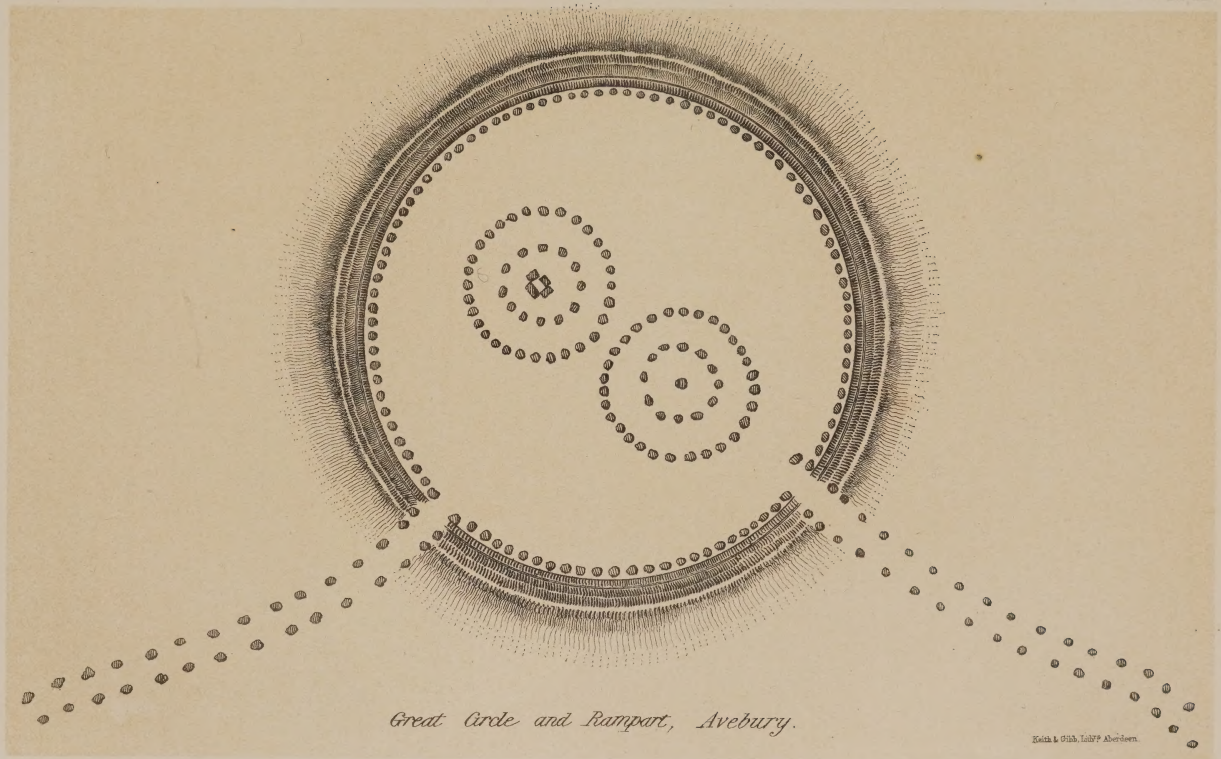
surveys made in 1812, it would appear that the fosse and rampart is not completely circular, although intended to be so.

[1] Wansey. His account was published in 1796.

[2] The outer oval consisted of 40, the inner of 18 stones. The length of the outer oval was 155, its breadth 138 feet.

[3] It so appeared to Stukeley; but this termination suited his theory—viz. that the plan of Avebury was a

General Plan of Avebury.



Great Circle and Rampart, Avebury.

Keith & Gibb, Lith.rs Aberdeen.

monoliths that marked the north side, stood three stones, each 16 feet in height, disposed in the same relative position to each other as those already described as occupying the centre of those inner circles from which this avenue proceeds.[1] This group of three stones in the approach is known to the people of the neighbouring villages by the name of "the Devil's Coits." "Coit and Coits," a term so often applied to this and similar kinds of Celtic monuments, may possibly be derived from the Celtic word Coit in the ancient Cornish language, and Coet in the Breton, which signifies a wood or grove; as it was in groves that our heathen ancestors celebrated their rites and erected their altars.

Nearly in the middle, supposing a line drawn from the outer extremities of the two avenues, stands Silbury Hill, a beautiful green conical mount 125 feet in height.[2] The diameter of this artificial hill, which is formed entirely of earth, is 100 feet at the summit and 500 feet at the base, round which it has lately (in 1849) been discovered there was a circle of rude stones 3 or 4 feet in thickness, and placed at intervals of about feet. By a shaft sunk from the summit in 1777, and more important excavations made by the Archæological Institute

huge delineation of a serpent. The same theory has been adopted by other writers, and is also applied by them to the great primitive remains on the plains of Carnac in Brittany. Nothing at Avebury or Carnac conveyed to my mind any circumstance favouring this theory; neither do the arguments adduced in proof of it incline me to believe that the serpent was intended to be represented by the Cyclopean works either at Avebury or Carnac.

[1] This recess, and similar ones in other places, are sometimes called coves, which word may possibly be derived from the Gaelic Cobhan, a chest, a cave.

[2] Dr. Stukeley calls the height 170 feet.

in 1849, nothing was discovered indicative of the purpose for which this hill was raised. It was clearly not sepulchral; and although it may have been used for religious rites, there is much more reason to infer that it was principally employed as a place for the assembly of councils and courts of justice, called Mod in Celtic, and Mote or Mute Hills in Anglo-Saxon. These mounds, so common both in South and North Britain, are considered in a separate article,[1] and here it is sufficient to notice two examples, one at each of the ancient seats of royalty in England and Scotland—viz. the "Mota de Windsor" and the "Mute-hill of Scone." The object in particularly referring to this artificial mount of Silbury, and showing its connection with the Avebury temples, will appear when describing other artificial mounts of small size found contiguous to the lesser circular stone fanes. Stones sculptured with the Caledonian hieroglyphics being found in connection with the fanes and moat-hills is also an important fact in regard to these mysterious sculptures.

Outside the great rampart of Avebury, on the north-east side, was a circular area defined by the same rude masses of stone as in the circles of the great temple, and within the limits of this outer enclosure was a dolmen. This monument, however, although an appendage, would not appear to have formed a portion of the original fane.

Avebury lies low and level, surrounded on all sides by receding hills of gentle declivity, altogether forming an amphitheatre from whence a whole nation might witness the smoke

[1] Article on "Mod, Mute, or Moat Hills."

of sacrifices ascending from the thickly-clustered columns of rock included within the great rampart. The surrounding ridges of Avebury, far as the eye can reach (it is the same also at Stonehenge[1] and at Carnac in Brittany) are covered with sepulchral tumuli, many of which are of great size. This is a proof that those who could command men and labour could not all, or many of them, obtain admission for the remains of deceased relatives into the fanes of their deities. For whom that posthumous honour was reserved can only be a matter of conjecture.

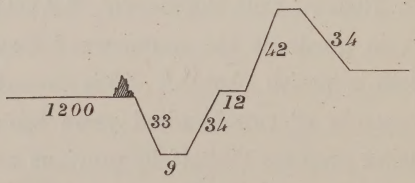
No better way appears for giving an adequate idea of the extent of Avebury, and the labour employed in its construction, than by comparing it with that much more generally known monument of antiquity, Stonehenge. On passing thence to Avebury, and tracing its long approaches and beautiful mount of Silbury—notwithstanding the fascination of the remains on the plain of Salisbury—one is not inclined to dispute the truth of the remark made by Aubrey, and quoted by Sir Richard Colt Hoare—viz., "Avebury does as much exceed in greatness the so-renowned Stonehenge as cathedral doeth a parish church." This remark, however, was made upwards of two hundred years ago; and now, unless the visitor prepares himself by previous examinations of the plans and descriptions of Stukeley and Hoare,[2] he might fail to comprehend the full extent and rude magnificence of

[1] The beautiful maps in Sir R. Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire* show the immense number of barrows existing even in this century around Stonehenge.—*Ancient Wiltshire*, pp. 113, 170.

[2] Or in Higgins's *Celtic Druids*.

ancient Avebury—in its day, perhaps, not only the great temple of a nation, but also the centre and radiating point of a religion.

All around Stonehenge, as at Avebury, the country was studded with sepulchral tumuli. But at the former there was no mount like Silbury Hill, nor miles of stone avenues like those that extended from Overton and Beckhampton to Avebury. The bulk of the stone masses at Avebury greatly exceeded that of the columns at Stonehenge ; the largest in the former is said to have been 37 feet in length, the longest at Stonehenge is 27 feet. The number of stones the position of which could be determined at Avebury was six hundred and fifty,[1] the number at Stonehenge one hundred and forty. The diameter of the outer circle of stones at Avebury is 1200 feet, with the ditch and vallum 1450 ; that at Stonehenge 106 feet. With regard to the fosse and earthen rampart that surround both Avebury and Stonehenge the contrast is still greater. In the former the ridge of the rampart is of great



thickness ; even now it rises with a very steep slope, which in some places measures between 70 and 80 feet from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the mound. At Stonehenge

[1] To which must be added seventy or eighty for stones lately discovered, as now it is proved that Silbury had a surrounding circle of stones. —See the chapter on Mod or "Moat Hills."

the rampart, although it can be distinguished, is comparatively insignificant, and adds nothing to the interest of the monument which it encircles.

At Avebury the rocky masses are "whole stones, over which no man hath lift up any iron." This was a command to the Israelites, enjoined by Moses and enforced by Joshua,[1] with regard to their devotional monuments. The ancient inhabitants of Britain, judging from their most ancient remains, appear to have been under some influence sufficiently powerful to insure their fanes and altars being formed by stones in their rude form, and never subjected to contamination by any instrument.[2] Neither was this rule the result of necessity; for the ponderous masses of which Celtic monuments are so often formed could never have been moved to their places except on rollers, of which the forests of Britain offered a ready supply.[3] The manner in which the houses of the early inhabitants were built, and their towns stockaded, is sufficient evidence that they possessed instruments wherewith to cut trees.[4] There are also the vessels formed from single hard stones found in ancient fanes of

[1] Exodus xx. 25; Joshua viii. 31.

[2] The central stone of one of the interior circles at Avebury, seen by Stukeley in 1723, was 21 feet high, of a circular form, and 8 feet 9 inches in diameter; and it was then said that one end of the Avebury Inn was built from one stone broken up by the masons.

[3] On such rollers I have seen proof that, with a sufficient body of men, unassisted by mechanism, the transport of large blocks can be accomplished.

[4] Besides the chariots, which the Britons possessed in numbers, in the same book Cæsar mentions the position of Cassivellaunus on the river Thames, one of its banks being defended by sharp stakes, similar stakes being fixed in the bed of the river, and covered by the water.

North Britain,[1] and other evidences of the Celtic races possessing tools by which, if so disposed, they could have shaped those materials which, however, were used in their rude form for the construction of devotional monuments.

Avebury, when carefully examined, appears to be amongst the most ancient, and Stonehenge—at least the prominent parts of it—the most modern of circular columnar fanes in Britain. On visiting Stonehenge one is struck with the great probability of an hypothesis that has been advanced—viz., that parts of this monument are the work of two different ages; for it is a compound erection, in which rude magnificence alternates with comparative meanness.

At Stonehenge there is a circle consisting of forty stones, not more that 5 feet in height, intervening between the outer circle and the oval designated by the five trilithons. In this circle the forty stones are of a different kind from that of which the rest of the monument is composed. They have been brought from a great distance and are unhewn, while all the large stones may have been found in the neighbourhood, and have been roughly shaped—some of them being connected together by rudely-formed projections and corresponding sockets, which serve to keep in their places those stones that have been raised to form the architraves of the trilithons, and to connect by a continuous cornice the outer circle of columns.[2] Not only in the circle of forty are the stones small, of a different kind of stone, and unhewn, but

[1] Wilson's *Prehistoric and Archæological Annals of Scotland*, p. 148.

[2] These great cornice-stones at Stonehenge were probably raised to their place in the same, or in a still more simple manner, than the archi-

Stonehenge

R. Ormond Forbes Leith, Del.

Keith & Gibb Lithog.rs Aberdeen.

Stonehenge, Restored, Looking west.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Del.

Kelck & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen.

their incongruous position between lines of columns only eight feet distant, averaging three times their height, and surmounted by simple massive cornices, seems to prove that circle to be of a different age from the more ponderous and imposing portions of the monument. Possibly this, the now comparatively mean part of Stonehenge, was the original circle, and had attained a sanctity and fame sufficient to attract the notice of those who in later times added the massive columns and cornices which have excited so much interest and not a little controversy.

Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other early British chroniclers,[1] repeat stories which, although somewhat varied, yet agree in one point—viz. that the monument of Stonehenge was, by the magical powers of the prophet Merlin, transported to where it now stands from Kildare in Ireland. To Ireland it had, in like manner, found its way from the extremity of Spain and from Africa.[2] Merlin himself told the king it was brought from Africa. The way in which the massive columns of Stonehenge are said to have reached their destination—viz. conveyance through the air by supernatural influence—need not be insisted on. But

traves and lintels of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus.—Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* b. xxxvi. c. 22.

An inclined plane of earth, such as is still used by the natives of India, would have served the purpose as well as the sand-bags used by the architect at Ephesus.

[1] Giraldus Cambr., Roger de Wendover, etc.

[2] Giraldus, in his *Topography of Ireland*, written about A.D. 1187, says that stones raised over other great stones, as at Stonehenge, existed on the plain of Kildare, and that they had been brought from the remotest parts of Africa.—Sir Richard Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*, pp. 129-132.

the places whence they were brought—viz. Spain and Africa —deserve consideration; for in the overland route from Kildare to Spain and the Pillars of Hercules, and beyond them by the north coast of Africa, rude monuments, similar to those of Celtic countries, may still be traced. This does not appear to have been hitherto noticed. If so, it is the more remarkable that, in a paper read to the British Association in 1847,[1] Dr. Meyer pointed out that very line as the route by which he believed that the earliest Celtic hordes—viz. the Gaelic—advanced to the north-western extremities of Europe. In the account of the old chroniclers if, instead of the actual monuments, they had written that the original models were brought from these countries, it might probably have been correct.[2]

The great circle at Stennis in Orkney is, in point of size, next to that of Avebury; and from the many remains of other circles and sepulchral tumuli, including Maeshow with its curious chambers and long Runic inscriptions, it does not yield to any in interest. The situation is also very peculiar, and with a wild beauty of its own. Rising from a narrow ridge which separates two lakes, the high monoliths of the "ring of Brogar," and lesser circles, are prominent objects in the scene at Stennis.

The ring of Brogar originally contained about sixty columnar stones, of which more than one-half, partly overthrown, yet remain. They vary in height, those that still stand, from 14 to 6 feet, with a breadth of 3 or 4 and a thickness of 1 foot. The circle has a diameter of 340 feet, and in

[1] P. 303. [2] This subject is more particularly considered in other chapters.

superficial extent measures 2½ acres. To the inner edge of the surrounding fosse the diameter is 366 feet, to the outer edge 424 feet. The fosse is still 6 feet deep; and there are entrances across it, level with the surrounding ground and circle, on two opposite sides. On the other side of the bridge of Brogar, under which is the only communication between the two lochs of Stennis, is a lesser circle, containing the remains of a dolmen. Of this circle, which was 104 feet in diameter, only seven stones, including the three stones of the dolmen, now remain. The highest standing stone is 17 feet; one that is prostrate measures 19 feet in length.

The circular fanes at Stanton Drew in Somersetshire appear to have been of considerable extent, although when first observed with attention, so late as the year 1718, they were in a state of miserable ruin. Comparatively few of the monoliths were left; some of them, however, were of considerable size—one, still standing in 1834, was 16 feet in height, and two others lay beside it of nearly equal size. With the assistance of former accounts three separate circles can still be traced, one of them 342 feet in diameter, another of 120 feet, a third of 94 feet. There are also traces of a stone avenue of approach; a "cove"—viz. three stones placed to form a niche—of which there are two at Avebury, stands at a short distance from the circles; and in another direction lies "Hackells-Quoit,"[1] a stone computed to weigh 30 tons.

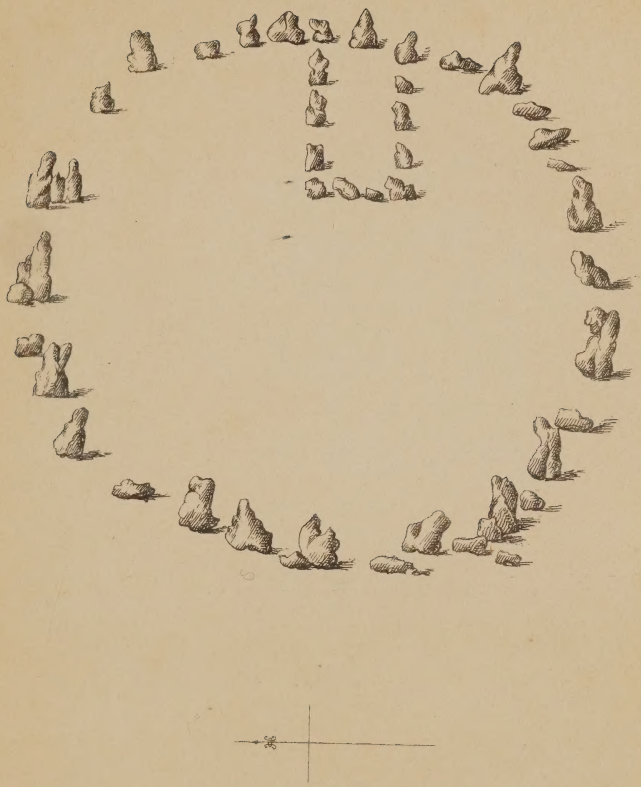
In the parish of Aldingham in Cumberland are the remains

[1] Quoit, Coit. I have elsewhere adverted to the probability of this word, continually found connected with Celtic monuments, being derived from the Celtic word Coit or Coet—"a grove."

of a circular fane having now no other name than "Long Meg and her Daughters." It is apparently of great antiquity. It has a diameter of 330 feet, and its circumference is defined by 67 stones varying in height from 8 to 3 feet—some being of great bulk, others comparatively small. On the south-west, 40 feet from the circle, the gaunt figure of "Long Meg" overlooks her dumpy daughters. Her height, now impaired by age, is about 12 feet above ground, but once was 18 feet; her form being an irregular pyramid with a base about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet square.[1] Her colour is red, and in this, as in shape, differs from the grey lumps of granite boulders of which her progeny is composed. It would appear that there had been an approach to this circle from the north-east, in which direction, about four hundred yards distant, there are remains of a small circle of the same primitive type and materials as the large enclosure. Advancing from this direction "Long Meg" would have appeared over the highest part of the great circle, which is situated on a gentle slope, and facing nearly the same direction as the altar-cove of Avebury and the central trilith of Stonehenge.

On an eminence called the Castle-Rigg, situated about a mile and a half from Keswick in Cumberland, and commanding an extensive and magnificent prospect, are the remains of a columnar stone-temple of an oval form, 108 feet in length and 100 in breadth. Immediately within this space, at the eastern end, a small square is defined by twelve stones of less size than the forty which remain to mark the outer boundary.

[1] Since my visit to Long Meg, Sir Gardiner Wilkinson has discovered an incised figure upon the stone. It appears of a different type from those which I have termed the Caledonian hieroglyphics.



Plan of Circle Castle Rig Keswick Cumberland.

Castle Rig, near Keswick, Cumberland.

To Colonel Forbes Leslie, Del.

Keith & Mitchell Lithog.rs Aberdeen.

As the early Christians in Britain were authorised to use the heathen fanes as places of worship, it may not be deemed an unreasonable conjecture that the enclosure at the east may have been added when the inhabitants were converted from paganism.

The monument called the Roll-rich Stones, near Chipping-Norton, on the borders of Oxfordshire, has received so much notice from Camden and other antiquaries that it cannot be passed without remark. But it is of less size than the fanes already referred to. It is an oval of 105 feet by 99, and was defined by sixty stones of various dimensions, the largest being 17½ feet in height. On the north-east, 250 feet from the oval, stood by itself the largest monolith of the group—apparently at the opening of the approach to the consecrated area—on the outside of which, on the south-east, were, in a group, five large stones, probably the remains of a dolmen or kist-vaen. The legend attached to the Roll-rich Stones is like the legend attached to such remains in all countries—viz. that the stones are petrified human beings. Here there are some details, such as that the large detached column was the king;[1] the group of five large stones, knights; the stones of the oval, royal attendants—soldiers who shared the fate of their leader.

Stone avenues, or lines of approach less prominently de-

[1] I suggest, as a possible explanation of the name, a derivation free at least from some of the objections which have been taken to previous etymologies—viz. that Roll-rich may be from the Celtic-Gaelic words Roilig, a burying-place, and Righ, a king. Roilig is synonymous with Reidhlic, a word derived from Reidh, a plain, and Leac, a stone.—*Gaelic Dictionary of the Highland Society.*

fined, are common to the fanes of the Celtic countries in the north-west of Europe, and in some instances form the principal feature in existing remains—as at Carnac in Brittany. At Avebury, also, the avenues were especially remarkable. At Shap, formerly Heppe, in Westmorland, at the commencement of this century, an avenue of rude columnar stones extended nearly a mile ;[1] at one end was a circle of stones, and there was another about half a mile distant. One of the stones was perforated, the hole being near the ground, and on the uppermost corner of the same stone was sculptured a circle 8 inches in diameter. Nearly all these monuments have been destroyed. At Kirkmichael in Perthshire among the numerous Cyclopean remains there is an avenue bounded by stones upwards of 100 yards in length.[2]

Stonehenge may be taken as the best known, as well as the most distinct, specimen of the numerous fanes in which the lines of approach, although well defined, are not marked by rows of monoliths. In some cases it is probable that the stones have been removed ; in others that they never existed, their purpose being served by erections of a perishable nature, such as generally sufficed for the dwellings of the early inhabitants of Britain.

An approach leading from near Kits-Cotty House in Kent to other Cyclopean remains at Addington, a distance of five miles, have been partly traced by vestiges of stone monuments ;[3]

[1] Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 279.

[2] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xv. p. 517.

[3] Wright's *Ancient Inhabitants of Britain*, p. 64.

Birds-eye view of Monument at Callernish, Lewis.

but, like other Celtic memorials on that side of England, nothing of their original form can with any certainty be now discovered. King[1] describes the oval fane at Addington as being in length from east to west fifty paces and in breadth forty-two paces ; some of the stones which defined the area being about 7 feet in height. On the east was the altar-stone, 9 feet by 7, and near it lay another stone 15 feet in height.

To the ancient monument in the parish of Lambourne in Berkshire, called Wayland-Smith, and the vestiges of extensive Cyclopean remains contiguous, there appear to have been two approaches through double rows of stones.[2]

Of the multitude of circular columnar fanes in Scotland—and under that name I include all those having dolmens or table-stones, whether resting on the ground or raised on three or four detached blocks—few, I believe, are without traces of an approach, evidently part of the original design. The same remark applies to the circles which have in the centre a single pillar. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of this kind of monument now remaining in North Britain is at Classernish in the island of Lewis. Here a circle, defined by twelve stones, each of the average height of 7 feet above ground, has a diameter of 40 feet; the centre being occupied by a stone 13 feet high. Towards the north an avenue, defined by double lines of stones similar to those in the circle, is 270 feet in length; single lines, now consisting of five stones each, point from the circumference of the circle

[1] King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 200.

[2] Britton and Brayley's *Berkshire*, p. 130.

to the east and west; and a line of six stones points to the south. The number of stones now remaining is forty-eight. They are imbedded in the clay to a depth of 4 or 5 feet,[1] and are entirely unhewn shapeless blocks of gneiss.

1 "Description of Classernish," by H. Callender, Esq., pp. 382, 383, in vol. ii. part. iii. of *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

Great Menhir Loc-Maria-Ker Restored

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Delt

Keith & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen.

CHAPTER X.

MENHIRS[1] (COLUMNAR STONES)—DEVOTIONAL; MEMORIAL.

Menhirs, Upright Stones, the Earliest Emblems of Deities—Hare Stones not Boundary Stones—Stone erected at Bethel—Baetulia of the Phœnicians—Aerolites—Heliogabulus—Alitta of the Arabs, and Venus of Paphos—Menhir worshipped in Ireland, overthrown by St. Patrick—Stone Worship—Great Menhir at Loc-Maria-Ker—Rude Stones representing Deities—Menhir of Kerloaz—Obscene Rites—Druidesses—Monuments attributed to Seth—Stones of Memorial, first mentioned in Sacred History—Cat Stanes—Lulach's Stone.

MENHIRS, or columnar stones, placed upright in the ground, were the earliest monuments of which there is record that they were reared by man as emblems of a deity.[2] They were also employed for preserving the memory of important events,[3] and for recalling the past existence of beloved or distinguished individuals.[4] Rude stones fixed up-

[1] Upright, long, *hir;* stone, *maen, men.*

Menhir—ce qui veut dire, en Celto-Breton, pierre longue. Ces monuments sont communs dans le Finisterre; ce sont des pierres brutes ordinairement alongées, plus ou moins élevées, et plantées verticalement en terre. Ces pierres, selon certaines circonstances qui les caracterisent, sont, ou des monuments funéraires, ou des monuments commemoratifs, ou des monuments religieux.—Fremenville, *Finistere*, p. 11.

Menhirs des pierres verticales fichées en terre.—Souvestre, *Derniers Brétons*, vol. i. p. 105.

Certain menhirs are also called in Gaelic, Clach-sleuchdadh, *Stones of Worship.*—See chapter on "Rocking-Stones."

[2] Genesis xxviii. 18-22; Deuteronomy xii. 3; Koran, Sales's *Preliminary Discourse*, pp. 13-15.

[3] Genesis xxxv. 14; xxxi. 45-52; Joshua xxiv. 26.

[4] Genesis xxxv. 20.

right, singly or in a group not exceeding three in number—from a piece that could be lifted by an individual up to a mass of rock which required the combined exertions of a tribe to move—are all included in the category of devotional, memorial, and sepulchral stones, classed under the head of menhirs. Although without records or reliable traditions regarding the more ancient of these monuments in Western Europe, there are yet sufficient data by which there can be assigned to each monolith or group its distinctive character. Rules have even been proposed by which to determine the original intention of each variety of these monuments, but when sufficiently definite the formulæ appear not only unsatisfactory but inadmissible.

In regard to such monuments we know that they were adopted from the earliest ages of the Hebrews in Canaan. We also find that the nations on whom they intruded had places of worship on mountains and hills, in sacred groves and under trees. They had altars, pillars,[1] and even sculptured stones, for such, it may be presumed, is the meaning of "figured stones" or "stones of picture."

In India, not only among the aboriginal tribes but also among professed Hindus, unhewn stones are still used as representatives of the invisible powers which are the object of native worship.[2] In many parts of the Indian peninsula rude stones mark or have made consecrated places; and nothing is more common than to see a Hindu god receiving vicarious

[1] Deuteronomy xii. 1, 2, 3; Leviticus xxvi. 1; marginal note in D'Oyly and Mant's *Bible*.

[2] Not only in India, but in Central Asia, in Kafiristan, and among the tribes on the eastern frontiers of Hindostan, stones are placed as representatives of deities.

worship when, under the form of a stone, he is anointed with gee or oil by some pious villager or passing traveller. Being smeared and dirty, with perhaps a broken earthenware lamp lying near, is often the only mark which distinguishes these sacred stones from others, apparently equally eligible representatives of supernatural power. Such objects were worshipped in Hindostan prior to the era of Gautama Buddha,[1] and we know not how many ages before ; for that great moral teacher, speaking of those "who worship Gods," and address themselves for protection or reward "to trees and rocks, stocks and stones," compares them to people who would seek refreshment at the illusive waters of a scorching atmosphere, or might expect to derive warmth from the light of the glow-worm.

The opinion has been stated and defended that the prototypes of the Caledonian hieroglyphics are to be found in the emblematic designs of the followers of the Gautama Buddha; but, on the contrary, I believe the sculptures on the monuments of Scotland to be referable to a system in every way the opposite of Buddhism. Buddhism is essentially peaceful, moral, and humane, forbidding the destruction of life and denouncing the sacrifice of any animal ; Druidism, so far as we know, was the reverse of all this, for although of its moral laws we are ignorant, yet we can see that its characteristics were priestcraft combined with mystery, and cruelty consummated by the immolation of human victims.

Primitive mounds, caves, and monuments are, however, the

[1] B.C. 543.

originals from which we can deduce the architectural wonders executed in the palmy days of Buddhism. The dagobahs and topes of Ceylon and Hindostan and other Buddhist countries —the mounts of masonry which we find piled above some shrunken atom of mortality—are but the tombs of the relics of Gautama or his early followers. Although the spires of the dagobahs at Anurádhapoora may have reached a height nearly equal to the cathedral of St. Paul's, these massive sepulchres were nevertheless only barrows or cairns extended, cased, or entirely formed with masonry, surmounted with spires, and more or less embellished according to the taste or the wealth of their founders.[1] In like manner, and in progress of time, the overhanging rock and rude stone cell became developed into caverned halls and ornamented cathedras hewn from the solid rocks of Western India. Thus also the memorial stones of successful warfare are found expanded in the sculptured pillars and towers of victory, of which a noble specimen still remains at Oodeypoor in Rajasthan.

The menhirs of greatest size are generally of a pyramidal

[1] In ancient sohonpolas (burying-places of Ceylon), particularly in the remote parts of Nuwarakalawia, I have seen the dagobah, according to the wealth, estimation, or position of the individual whose ashes lay beneath, of many sizes and different degrees of embellishment. There was the humble heap of earth, in form the same, in size not much different from a mole-hill. Another, a little larger, had its base surrounded by a circle of stones. Larger mounds were entirely cased in stone; and on others still larger was raised a kind of spire. In short, the whole progress and design of the dagobahs were displayed from the modest heap of earth to the proud monument of a chief; which again was but the miniature of that raised over a king; and this last was still more insignificant when compared with the monumental tombs of the relics of Gautama Buddha, in the ancient capitals of Ceylon.

form, and have their broadest parts fixed in the ground; but some of the rude columns have evidently by design been planted on their smallest end. The attempt to explain this peculiarity by the theory of natural decay of the inferior portions of these stones, increased by the friction of animals, however plausible, will require no refutation to those who have examined the monuments. But neither is there any suggestion which is satisfactory in regard to these inverted obelisks, although they are commonly met with singly, as well as in combination with the other varieties of primitive stone remains.

The monuments in Britain called "hare-stones" probably derive their name from the Celtic words Hir, upright or long, and Maen, a stone. It has been contended that the term "hare-stones"—maen-hirs—signifies boundary-stones. They may be, and may have been, occasionally used as such; but certainly not exclusively, for hare-stones are found in groups—a strong proof that it is the shape of the stone, and not the nature of the monument which is indicated by the name. Thus, at Kirkdean in the parish of Kirkurd, and at Hare-stanes in the parish of Crailing, circles of stones are called the "hair" or "hare stones." Haer and hier cairns in groups are mentioned,[1] and were probably all originally surrounded or surmounted by menhirs, although these may have been removed or obscured.

[1] Haer-cairns of Clunie; Hier-cairns of Monikie, Forfarshire, etc.—Wilson's *Archæology of Scotland*, pp. 92, 93.

In a moor in the parish of Kinloch, near Perth, are "vast numbers of tumuli called the haer-cairns."—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xvii. p. 479.

Lately it has been discovered that the mount of Silbury was surrounded by a line of detached upright stones.[1] Great mounds at New Grange and Dowth in Ireland, also at Loc-Maria-Ker and other places in Brittany are thus encircled; and not less common are mounds surmounted by menhirs. There are two such monuments near the hamlet of Moustoir in the Morbihan, between Auray and Carnac: the menhir on one of these was 11 feet above the ground.

Menhirs, stones placed upright, intended for devotional purposes, appear in the earliest ages to have been unhewn—as that of Bethel set up by Jacob,[2] "the smooth stones of the stream" of the Jews,[3] and the baetulia of the Phœnicians.[4] They appear generally to have been selected of a pyramidal form, although some, described as small and shapeless, are with much probability believed to have been aërolites—for it is natural to suppose that anything so anomalous as to be at the same time material and unearthly would be received as an object of mysterious sanctity. Whether aërolites or earth-born, these stones, although they may have been at first placed or acknowledged as emblems of unseen power, certainly afterwards became objects of worship to many heathen nations.[5]

The god Heliogabulus—set up by the emperor, who had

[1] At the same time, I believe Silbury was neither devotional, memorial, nor monumental, but judicial. See article on "Moot or Moat-hills."

[2] Genesis xxviii. 18, 19.

[3] Isaiah lvii. 6.

[4] Baetulia, devised by Ouranus. Sanchoniatho, as given in Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 334. See also pp. 254-304.

[5] The mother of the gods, Rhea or Cybele, was worshipped in the form of a stone. It was of a black and tawny colour, and small size—easily carried by one man. This stone was believed to have fallen from heaven.

adopted the name of the idol, and commanded the Romans to worship it—was merely a black stone of a conical form, which it was believed had fallen from heaven.[1] At Emesa in Phœnicia it would appear that this stone was worshipped rather as the actual representative than as an emblem of the sun; and the emperor seems to have acted on this belief when he caused the nuptials of the idol Heliogabulus to be solemnised with the image of the moon goddess, the Carthaginian Astarte, which, by his orders, was brought to Rome for the purpose.[2]

Prior to the time of Mohammed a stone was worshipped by some of the Arab tribes.[3] Venus was one of the objects of worship so typified,[4] as the Alitta of the Arabians seems to be fairly identified with the Babylonian Mylitta, the Assyrian Venus, whose abominable rites are described by Herodotus.[5] The Venus of Paphos would appear to have been worshipped with the same unhallowed rites as the Babylonian Mylitta, and was acknowledged under the same form as the Alitta of the Arabs—viz. a rude stone.

The unhewn stone, worshipped as the representative of unseen power, was the first step in idolatry: it was no startling

[1] Montfaucon, quoting from Herodian, describes the god Elagabal, and mentions the Phœnician women who danced around the god beating cymbals and dulcimers ("tympanons"). On a medal the figure of this god appears in a car drawn by four horses, with the inscription Sanct-Deo-Soli-Elagabal.—Montfaucon, vol. i. pp. 119, 120.

[2] Gibbon, in his sixth chapter, gives the particulars regarding this emperor and the idol Elagabulus, and the lascivious dances of the Syrian damsels round this representative of the sun. See also *Universal History*, Ancient series, vol. xv. 347.

[3] Sales's *Preliminary Discourse to the Koran*, pp. 13, 15.

[4] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, quoting Larcher, p. 304.

[5] *Clio*, sect. 199.

change, but a natural and gradual result when the emblem became the actual object of worship; and it required no great advancement in the arts to fashion the upright stone into some definite form of the deity represented.

In Ireland, in the fifth century, the pagan object of worship of King Laoghaire appears to have been a massive stone pillar, surrounded by twelve other objects of worship.[1] This pillar, called the Crom-Cruach, was overthrown by St. Patrick. It stood on the plain of Magh-Sleacht, in the county of Cavan.[1]

When St. Patrick visited Cashel, and converted the king of Munster to Christianity, his baptism took place at a stone afterwards known as Leach-Phadruic.[2]

The stone at Clogher, covered with gold plates, and worshipped by the pagan Irish, was called Kermand-Kelstach. The stone itself was still to be seen in 1498 in the porch of the cathedral of Clogher.[3]

We have abundant evidence of the prevalence of stone-worship in Britain as well as in Armorica,[4] which is of consequence in showing that it was a portion of the Celtic superstitions; as the best authorities for the stone-worship of Britain are of a later date than the Anglo-Saxon invasion. The worship of stones is condemned by Theodoric, archbishop of Canterbury, in the seventh century;[5] is among the acts of

[1] It is said to have been of brass.—Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 127.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 129.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 129.

[4] In A.D. 442 and 567, in the councils of Arles and Tours, stone-worship is condemned.

[5] Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. ii. p. 34.

heathenism forbidden by king Edgar in the tenth,[1] and by Cnut in the eleventh century.[2] In a council held at Tours in A.D. 567 priests were admonished to shut the doors of their churches against all persons worshipping certain upright stones; and Mahé states that a manuscript record of the proceedings of a council held at Nantes in the seventh century makes mention of the stone-worship of the Armoricans. These are a few of the recorded facts regarding stone-worship in the olden time; and along with the following notices, and others to be found under different heads,[3] leave little doubt that stone-worship and some kindred forms of heathenism are not altogether extinct either in Britain or in Armorica.

Martin describes a stone in the island of Jura round which it was customary for the people to move deasil (sunwise).[4] In some of the Hebrides the people attributed oracular power to a large black stone which they approached with certain solemnities.[5] A writer on ancient customs in the isle of Skye, in 1795, says, "In every district there is to be met with a rude stone consecrated to Gruagach or Apollo."[6] The Rev. Mr. M'Queen of Skye says that in almost every village the sun, called Grugach or the Fair-haired,[7] is represented by

[1] Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. ii. p. 249.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 379.

[3] In the chapters "Monuments common to Indian and Celtic Nations"—"Superstitions and Customs common to Indian and Celtic Nations"—"Baal"—Beltane," etc.

[4] Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 241.

[5] Sir Walter Scott's note to *Lady of the Lake*, canto iv.

[6] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by Sir H. Ellis, vol. ii. p. 16.

[7] In the *Rigveda* of the Hindus, Agni and Surya—personifications of light, fire, heat, the sun—are called "the bright-haired," "the golden-haired."

a rude stone; and he further states that libations of milk were poured on the Graich-stones. May not the name of an island on the coast of Brittany, which was once the abode of Druidesses and still contains primitive stone monuments,[1] be derived from this word? It is called L'Isle de Groah.

The finest specimen of a menhir in Britain is the pyramidal stone, which probably gave the name of Rudston to the village in the churchyard of which it is situated.[2] It is 29½ feet above, and reaches 12 feet below the surface of the ground, giving a height altogether of 41 feet 6 inches. In the absence of record or tradition regarding this monument, with the fact of pagan fanes being adopted as sites for early Christian churches, and the church at Rudston being contiguous to this obelisk, it is reasonable to conjecture that it was once an object of worship or portion of a heathen temple.

The great menhir[3] at Loc-Maria-Ker, in the department of the Morbihan in Brittany (the ancient Armorica), is by far the largest monolith to be found among the primitive remains of Celtic countries. Although now prostrate and broken, it has evidently at one time stood erect; and the same force which effected its overthrow doubtless caused, along with the concussion, the three fractures which have separated this huge obelisk into four pieces. The fractures are wonderfully clean,

[1] Fremenville's *Morbihan*, p. 28.

[2] In Yorkshire.—See Gibson's *Camden*, vol. ii. pp. 96, 110; and *Illustrated England and Wales*, vol. xvi. pp. 423-866, in which both the Rudston and "the Arrows," near Boroughbridge, are described.

[3] There is another of considerable size lying close to the village.

Great Menhir, at Loc-Maria-Ker, Brittany.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Delt

Earth & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen.

parallel to each other and to the base. The three portions next the apex, from the position in which they lie, may have been separated by the concussion when this immense mass, calculated to weigh 260 tons, was hurled to the ground. But the fracture next above the base must have occurred simultaneously with or previously to the fall of the menhir, for the lower portion has not fallen in a line with the other pieces, but appears to have been partly turned round by the same power that overthrew the monument. It is remarkable that the base shows the same clean fracture as the other divisions; and from its appearance I would expect that sufficient examination will yet prove that beneath the soil is the original base, from which the superior portions, all that we now see, were wrenched, probably by lightning, the only force which I can imagine capable of producing such effects. The four pieces of this monument, if united, would, according to Fremenville, measure 58 French—about 61½ English feet. I made the entire length nearly 63 feet.[1]

Looking from the site of this menhir over the promontory of Loc-Maria-Ker and its monuments, the view to the left includes a confusion of islands in the Morbihan Sea. Forward and to the right is the bay of Quiberon; and farther round the eye catches sight, at a distance of five miles, of the spire of the church of St. Michael, built on an artificial mount beside and overlooking the plain and monuments of Carnac. Some writers have suggested what seems very probable—

[1] Not being aware at the time of this discrepancy, I did not take any pains to verify the measurement which I made with a common tape measure.

viz. that the Cyclopean remains on the rugged peninsulas between the estuary of Intel and the Morbihan Sea, the stone avenues of Carnac, the infinity of rude columns, altars, mounds, and cairns, found an appropriate termination towards the east in the menhirs and dolmens of Loc-Maria-Ker, the largest of their kind known to exist in any country.

Among heathen nations light, heat, fire were objects of worship in the earliest ages. The sun, the obvious dispenser, was generally acknowledged as the author of these blessings, and under many names and various forms became an object of worship in all countries. The earliest material representatives of the sun were probably rude obelisk-shaped stones, such as the baetyli[1] of the Phœnicians. In Egypt these small conical monoliths became developed into the finished obelisk of surpassing height ;[2] and on the plains of Chaldæa expanded into the temple of Belus. In another direction the imagination of the Greeks and the cunning of their sculptors transformed the simple emblem into a human shape, and magnified the size until, in the Apollo of Rhodes, it rivalled in height the greatest monolith on the banks of the Nile. In the first century of the Christian era the colossal statue, 110 feet in height, originally intended for the emperor Nero, was surrounded with seven rays and consecrated to the sun.

The Venus of Paphos was a conical stone bearing no resemblance to the human form, and the Cybele of Pessinus but a shapeless block. Yet the early history of these goddesses,

[1] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 304, 334.
[2] Wilkinson's *Modern Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 293, 294.

and of devotional stones, connects them sufficiently with the monuments of later periods and more ample size—viz. the menhirs.

In India may be traced a simple idea, first embodied as an emblem, and then passing onwards through various stages until it was seen personified in the hideous idol. Proportional mental debasement must have accompanied—or rather have preceded and originated—these transitions, by which the worship of light and animated nature was first materialised, and then matured into an image of obscenity. In turning from the menhir of Loc-Maria-Ker, impressive from its great size and rude simplicity, to that of Kerloaz, the largest still standing in the Celtic countries of the West, we can discern a fresh proof of the progress of idolatry. Once the human mind adopts any material object, even as an emblem of worship, the principle is admitted—the gate has been passed—the broad path to idolatry lies open—and its extremity may be reached without encountering any startling impediment. Whether the alteration and workmanship visible on parts of the menhir of Kerloaz were executed by later races, or were the effects of external influence through commercial intercourse[1] or by foreign conquest, cannot now be discovered. But the result is apparent in the degraded form of worship to which the monument was latterly adapted, and for which it does not appear to have been originally intended.

[1] The fragments of an obelisk at Bigging in Egypt, which had the peculiarity of a round apex, still receive a certain degree of worship by women, who thus hope to have a numerous progeny.

At this obelisk of Kerloaz very ancient ceremonies, the remains of a species of obscene worship, are still practised by both sexes.[1] The superstitions connected with these impure rites, and the remains of other monuments of Armorica, will probably be considered sufficient warrant for thinking that the objects of the worship at Kerloaz were latterly nearly similar to that of the vilest idols of the Hindus.

Fremenville describes certain sculptures in Brittany of evident antiquity, and says that of the period when they were executed he cannot form any estimate, while of the object for which they were intended he avows himself unable to form a conjecture. Any one who has witnessed the deified and personified obscenity so commonly obtruded on the traveller's view in Hindostan, will have little hesitation in pronouncing the descriptions of Fremenville applicable to one of the most common objects of Hindu worship.[2]

[1] "Objets de superstition dont le but et l'origine se perdent dans la nuit des temps, ces bosses reçoivent encore une sorte de culte bizarre de la part des paysans des environs. Les nouveaux mariés ce rendent dévotement au pied de se menhir," etc.—*Finistere*, pp. 178, 197.

[2] "Sur la surface inégale d'un rocher, nous remarquâmes un singulier ouvrage incontestablement dû a la main des hommes; mais dans quel but, dans quelle intention, et fait dans quel temps? C'etait un circle de dix pieds de diametre, taille en saillie, dans lequel etait sculpté, pareillement en saillie dans le roc vif, un seconde circle concentrique, et du diamétre d'un environ septs pieds; au centre de ces circles s'elevait un mamelon. Sur une autre roche, nous vimes un semblable travail . . . qu'il ne restait qu'un quart de la circonférence du circle qui y fut tracé jadis. Ce circle parait avoir été inscrit dans un quadrilatére sculpté en creux, et dont deux côtes seulement sont encore visible."

"Sur une grosse pierre située pres d'un hameau nommé La Mercerie, à une lieue de la forêt de Machecoul, department de la Loire Inferieure, cette pierre, saillante au dessus du sol soulment de trois pouces, etait taillée en rond et avait huit pieds de diamétre; sa circonférence renfermait un autre circle taillé en saillie, et ayant aussi trois pouces d'elevation, mais seulement quatre pieds de diamétre. Une

Those who maintain that the Celtic religion was a comparatively pure form of paganism, and that Druids inculcated true morality, certainly do not find support in ancient history, and may be referred to the characteristics of the priestesses of the Isle-de-Groach—the island opposite to the entrance of the Loire, as described by Strabo—and of L'Isle-de-Sen, whose practices are mentioned in Pomponius Mela. The Druidesses also in the island of Anglesea (or Mona), however brave and patriotic, showed by the part which they took against the Romans that they were both fierce and influential.[1] From the meagre accounts of early authorities we therefore gather that the priestesses of the Celts were fierce, cruel, and lascivious. If this is considered too severe a judgment to be deduced from these notices of the priestesses of the Celts, it must be recollected that they were also employed in the immolation of human victims, and that in the island already mentioned (now Isle-de-Groach) one of the priestesses became annually a sacrifice by her comrades during the fury of superstitious excitement. The nature of some of the objects of Celtic worship, and the impure rites with which the worship was conducted, may be further supported and inferred by existing circumstances and ceremonies in Armorica. In places where heathen fanes were succeeded by Christian churches we

rigole circulaire de quatre a cinque pouces de large régnait autour de ce seconde circle, et avait son deversoir du côté de l'ouest. Cette pierre ainsi taillée etait placée sur une petite butte de terre haute de quatre pieds. Un particulier la fit enlever pour en faire la mardelle d'un puits ; il eut beaucoup de peine á la tirer de terre, ou elle s'enfonçait de six pieds ; elle avait la forme d'un cône renversé."—Fremenville's *Antiq. Bretagne, Morbihan*, pp. 12-14.

[1] Tacitus, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 38.

find that the latter had received, and still retain, names derived from no very reputable members of a Celtic pantheon. This is the explanation given as to the origin of such names for Christian churches as Notre-Dame-de-la-Joie, Notre-Dame-de-Liesse, Notre-Dame-de-la-Haine, and Notre-Dame-de-la-Clarte. The latter title, although somewhat more respectable in appearance, was evidently of heathen derivation, and possibly—even probably—appertaining to a deity of as questionable purity as Notre-Dame-de-la-Joie—viz. to Astarte or Mylitta,[1] in place of Venus or some other deity of similar attributes.[2]

In Notre-Dame-de-la-Haine[3] is continued, in name at least, the deification of human passions the most malignant—even less excusable than those which appear to have derived their names from the licensed orgies of paganism. That a dangerous, even a criminal, licence followed some ancient customs founded on superstitious ceremonies in Britain is well known, as they endured to a period comparatively modern. That certain religious ceremonies in some parts of Brittany still terminate in such licence[4] is the less to be wondered at when we learn that it was the pious and indefatigable priest and missionary Michael le Nobletz who, so late as the seventeenth century, converted to real Christianity the inhabitants of the islands of Moléne and Ouessant, and of the re-

[1] For the abominable rites of Mylitta see Herodotus, *Clio*, cxcix. For Astarte under various designations see Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 300, 301.

[2] This is referred to in treating of the fish—one of the Caledonian hieroglyphics on the sculptured stones of Scotland.

[3] This church is near Treguier.—Souvestre's *Derniers Bretons*, p. 92.

[4] See Souvestre's *Les Dernier Bretons*, pp. 95, 96, etc.

mote parts of the promontory of Finistere.[1] Previous to his exertions it would appear that the peasants were Christians only in name, baptized heathens in fact. In addition to these notices of rites inherited from paganism may be remarked an extremely indecent statue on the tower of the church of St. Pierre at the extreme point of Penmarch in Finistere, and the history of the Venus of Quinipily, whose uncouth form has for so long a time received the homage of local immodesty.

The ceremonies still practised at the menhir of Kerloaz, and others elsewhere referred to, show how deeply rooted and enduring in Celtic countries was the paganism connected with stone-worship. The summit of the rising ground on which this monument is situated bears the same name—viz. Kerloas or Kerglas. "The field of mourning" is said to be the meaning of the word in the Armorican language; and in other parts of France various groups and single stones are found at places bearing names, both Celtic and French, of synonymous import. "Taoursanan," "mournful or melancholy places,"[2] is a Gaelic expression used in some parts of Scotland for what are generally known as Druid circles. There the name is supposed to be derived from these areas having been places of human sacrifice. Some writers have accepted this explanation, while others maintain that the name originated from these

[1] The tomb of Michael de Nobletz is in the church of Lochrist, two miles from Point St. Mathieu. He died 5th May 1652.—Fremenville's *Finistere*, p. 175.

[2] In Gaelic, Taoursach or Tuierseach. In Welsh, Toirseach signifies mournful, sad, melancholy.—Lhuyd's and other Dictionaries.

circles having been places of sepulture. It is not likely that this point will ever be authoritatively decided, but if it should be, the probability is, that both parties will be found to be right.

The menhir of Kerloaz is of rose-coloured granite, and appears to have been, at the time it was erected, of an obelisk shape, unhewn and uncontaminated by the work of man's hands, which can now be distinguished on the east and west sides of the monument. On these are to be seen marks of a debasing form of paganism, the rites of which are not yet extinct. On each of these sides, about three feet from the ground, a boss about a foot in diameter projects in its highest part three or four inches above the surrounding surface of the stone, which has been cut away on purpose to give relief to these bosses. The height of this monument above ground is now 37 feet 9 inches.[1] I was informed by an intelligent person in the neighbourhood, at St. Renan, that the menhir was formerly higher, and that 5 feet had been shivered off the top by lightning. My informant did not know when this occurred, and the appearance of the summit as seen from the ground does not favour the tradition, which, however, may be correct: no object or position can well be more likely to attract the electric fluid than this monument, which stands amidst patches of furze, broom, heath, ferns, and dwarf oak-copse on the summit of an exposed ridge, and at no great distance from the north-west corner of Europe.

[1] Weld's *Vacation in Brittany*. Fremenville says 11 metres 5 centimetres. I had no instrument by which I could measure this column.

Josephus, in his *History of the Jews*,[1] mentions the existence of monuments which he says Seth erected in order to preserve the astronomical knowledge that his race had acquired. The existence of the inscribed pillars may be admitted, although the origin attributed to them may be denied, and the antiquity claimed for them be abated. When their erection was attributed to the antediluvian Seth we may conclude that the Jewish historian could obtain no correct knowledge regarding the period when they were reared.

The earliest record of a stone being raised, anointed,[2] and sanctified, is of that which Jacob erected at Luz and called Bethel,[3] and it is doubtful whether that and the stone Ebenezer, raised by Samuel[4] near Mizpeh, should be classed as devotional or memorial. The pillar and cairn erected by Jacob on Mount Gilead were memorials to witness and keep in remembrance an agreement between two individuals.[5] That many such monuments have been erected in Britain is extremely probable—memorials of the feuds and fights, covenants and slaughters, which seem to have afforded continued occupation to our ancestors. Yet in nearly all cases, even with the assistance of tradition, these stones of memorial have failed to keep in mind the events which they were intended to perpetuate. Many of these stones have been moved from their original sites and appropriated in divers ways—possibly have again become

[1] Chapter ii.

[2] A practice still to be seen in many parts of India.

[3] Gen. xxviii. 18; xxxv. 14.

[4] 1 Sam. vii. 12.

[5] Such also may be considered the stone mentioned in Joshua xxiv. 26, a memorial of a covenant between Joshua and the people.

memorials of later events, and again failed to fulfil the purpose for which they were designed.

The cat-stanes of Scotland probably derive their name from the Celtic word Cath,[1] and mark places of conflict. But we ask in vain who was the victor, for none can tell who were the combatants. Lulach's Stone, in the parish of Rhynie in Aberdeenshire, may mark the spot where the cousin and successor of Macbeth was slain ; and a few other monuments, not altogether false to their trust, may perhaps retain, in more or less corrupted forms, some semblance of the names of

> "Chiefs who under their gray stone
> So long had slept, that fickle Fame
> Had blotted from her rolls their name."

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[1] Cath, battle.

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